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## Near East/South Asia Report

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# NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA REPORT

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# SOVIET MIDEAST POLICY EXAMINED

Paris POLITIQUE ETRANGERE in French No 1, 1983 pp 133-146

[Article by Marie Mendras, sovietologist and research attache at CNRS [National Center for Scientific Research]\*: "USSR's Mideast Strategy"]

[Text] During the 1982 Lebanese crisis, the Soviet Union showed marked restraint. This, in the eyes of many observers, confirmed the continuing deterioration of the Soviet position in the Middle East over the past 10 years or so. The military defeat of the Syrians and of the PLO, under the passive gaze of the other Arab nations, would seem to have demonstrated Moscow's inability to defend its allies. By contrast, the years 1970-71 would appear to have been the high point in the outlook for Soviet policy.

Underlying this analysis are the following assumptions: The USSR is conducting a "conventional" policy of power politics that is aimed at forming dependable alliances, increasing the number of socialist regimes, and exerting a dominant economic influence in the region.

If that is its Mideast strategy, the USSR has certainly not chalked up many winning points, but rather on the contrary. However, Moscow's attitude toward the countries of the region contradicts this blueprint and invites a redefinition of the strategy underlying Soviet policy, whose balance sheet as of the end of 1982 is perhaps not as negative as it may seem.

## Seeking of Stable Alliances

By the beginning of the 1970's, the Soviet Union had formed a network of alliances with four Middle Eastern states: Egypt, Syria, Iraq and South Yemen<sup>1</sup>. It could also count as a potential ally the PLO, with which the

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\* The author thanks Salome Zourabichvili for the help she provided in the writing of this article.

1) Syria did not sign a friendship and cooperation treaty with the USSR until 1980, and South Yemen until 1981, but both countries had been maintaining close relations with Moscow: Syria since the 1960's, and South Yemen since the coup d'etat in 1969.

Soviet state formalized its relations in 1974. In addition, Iran, Turkey and Afghanistan were linked to the USSR by trade agreements.

In the light of the USSR's arms sales to Nasser in 1955 through the Czechoslovakians, and of the political backing provided him by the Soviets during the Suez crisis, Egypt had been considered the first and most important of Moscow's allies in the Mediterranean. A Soviet-Egyptian friendship and cooperation treaty, very similar in form to those binding the USSR to its East European allies, was signed on 29 May 1971. But this event failed to mask the mounting difficulties in the relations between the two countries. Nasir had never been an easy partner, and his repeated attempts at dialoguing with the United States had indicated to the Soviets the limits of their influence on Egyptian policy. The rise to power of Anwar al-Sadat only strengthened Soviet apprehensions. Nevertheless, as of 1971, the Egyptians were still linked to the USSR by a treaty and by increased dependence on it from the military standpoint, one of the favorable consequences of the Israeli-Arab conflict for the Kremlin. The Americans having backed Israel, the Arabs turned toward the Soviets.

By the beginning of the decade of the 70's, the Syrians were depending on the USSR for virtually the entirety of their military equipment. Soviet military aid had grown after the 1967 war. The Arab defeat, which had caused a break in Soviet-Arab relations, had led to a second phase in which Soviet influence with the foes of Israel was strengthened. To defend themselves, Egypt, Iraq and Syria had had no other choice but to appeal to Moscow for backing, despite the disappointments generated by Soviet "inactivity" in 1967.

Relations with Iraq improved in 1972. The Iraqis needed Soviet aid to carry out the nationalization of their oil industry, to resume the war in Kurdistan and to counter the rearmament of its neighbor, Iran. The signature of the friendship and cooperation treaty in April 1972 was a milestone in the progress of Soviet political involvement in the Middle East.

By the turn of the 1970's, the USSR had succeeded in extending its radius of involvement from Egypt to Syria to Iraq and, at the periphery of the region, to South Yemen. Its assets within the region appeared to be sufficient to enable it to counter Western influence. Circumstances had for the most part favored Soviet interests. The departure of the British from the Middle East scene in 1971, the American involvement in Vietnam, the perceived "nuclear parity" between the two superpowers, the stakes in the Israeli-Arab conflict, and the growth of progressive forces in certain Arabic countries all contributed to the creation of a particularly propitious situation for involvement of an outside power.

Ten years later, the picture, at first glance, appears far less favorable to the Soviets. As compared to four "allies in 1972 (Egypt, Syria, Iraq and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen) and a certain number of "friends" or potential allies, the USSR can no longer count on other than two relatively marginal states: Afghanistan and South Yemen.

With its abrogation in 1976 of the treaty of 1971, Egypt completed the break it had started in 1972 with the expulsion of the Soviet experts. Until 1977, al-Sadat succeeded in maintaining a certain evenhandedness of policy towards the two superpowers. The Camp David agreements put an end to this process of "titration." In Moscow's view, Egypt had gone over to the rival camp. Twenty years of economic and military aid had apparently ended as a dead loss.

Iraq, after having maintained close relations with the USSR between 1972 and 1975 for reasons mentioned above, had become a less conciliatory friend in the succeeding years. On the one hand, the difficulties that had driven Baghdad into its alliance with Moscow had lost some of their acuteness. On the other hand, oil revenues had provided the Iraqis with means on which to base an independent policy. And finally, certain machinations by the Soviets incurred the displeasure of the Iraqi government, which retaliated with a violent repression of its domestic communists in 1978. The loosening of Soviet-Iraqi ties was accompanied by a rapprochement between Baghdad and the West. Saddam Hussein succeeded in negotiating arms purchases with France.

The domestic policy of the Ba'th Party and the open conflict with Iran that began in 1980 embarrassed Moscow. The USSR sought to avoid exacerbating its relations with Baghdad and, until just the last few weeks (November 1982), it seems, continued its arms shipments. However, it has resolutely avoided taking sides with Iraq against Iran. With the intensification of the war in 1982, the Soviet press has become a model of impartiality! Every day, or nearly so, PRAVDA devotes a little box to the military developments. The first column carries the communiques of the Tehran government; the second one reports the Baghdad view. In refusing to back Iraq, and in slowing its deliveries of military equipment (Baghdad refers to the stoppage [in italics] of these deliveries), the USSR has unleashed a flow of violent criticisms. On 16 November 1982, President Saddam Hussein stated that the friendship and cooperation treaty with the Soviet Union "has not operated" during the war with Iran.

Soviet-Syrian relations have also become severely strained. Despite the virtual monopoly of the Soviets in the military domain, Damascus has in several instances pursued a policy contrary to Soviet objectives. In 1976, the Syrians fought against the fedayeen in the Lebanese war, on the side of the Lebanese government, whereas Moscow officially backed the Palestinians. Shortly after, Damascus modified its policy and, during the last Lebanese crisis, the arms delivered to Syria were used against the common enemy: Israel. But the defeat of the Syrian army in 1982 shook the credibility of Soviet military aid and of "alliance" with the USSR. The Iranian revolution hardly improved the picture from Moscow's angle of view, since Khomeyni's anti-Americanism is matched only by his anti-Sovietism. Moreover, Iran is at war against a regime "friendly" to the USSR, namely, Ba'th-ist Iraq. In sum, the Soviet Union has "allies" only around the periphery of the Middle East: In Afghanistan, South Yemen and Ethiopia.



A defeat is measured in terms of objectives unattained. Has the USSR, indeed and above all, been seeking, throughout the past 10 years, privileged-alliance relationships to replace Egypt? Can they not have been pursuing a more pragmatic, a more flexible policy?

To begin with, the question can be put differently: Has the USSR "lost" its Egyptian ally or has it "freed" itself of the Egyptian ascendancy? The second of these propositions seems the closer of the two to reality. Accounts of "eyewitnesses," particularly Heikal, Egyptian journalist who was close to Nasir and subsequently to al-Sadat, throw light on the dynamic of Soviet-Egyptian relations. The steps hostile to the USSR taken by al-Sadat between 1972 and 1977 responded in large part to a lack of willingness on the part of Moscow. In 1971-1972, the Soviets dragged their feet on responding to Cairo's requests for military aid. Anwar al-Sadat was convinced that the USSR would rearm Egypt. The Egyptian defeat in 1967 and the war of attrition that followed spurred him to think in terms of a new war with Israel to wipe out the defeats of the past. He thought the Kremlin would bow to the pressures of its most valued ally in the Middle East: Egypt. But al-Sadat had underestimated one factor: The policy of detente between the two superpowers, which was applying brakes to Soviet activism in a "hot region" of the globe. The Soviets wanted to avoid being dragged into a military conflict between Arabs and Israelis, that is, indirectly, one between the Americans and themselves. They preferred a political settlement to a military one in the Near East.

Cairo and Moscow had divergent interests and the Egyptian ally was becoming a millstone around the Soviet neck. Furthermore, the Soviets foresaw, already at that time, the possibility of a better distribution of their influence in the region, banking on closer contacts with Iraq, Syria, South Yemen and perhaps the PLO. However, in diversifying their footholds in the Middle East, the USSR had no intention of seeking "alliances" on the Egyptian model. The breaking of the ties that had been in place since 1955 with Cairo was part of a restructuring of Soviet strategy. Robert Freedman sees in it an "attempt by the Soviet leadership to enlarge as much as possible its base of operations in the Middle East." And this enlargement was to take place at the expense of the solidity of its alliances.

The attitude of the Soviets throughout the 1970's and until now is an indication of the point to which the traditional concept of alliances has become blurred in Moscow's relations with the Third World. The most striking example is the "non-treaty alliance" between Syria and the USSR. In 1972, after signing friendship and cooperation treaties with Egypt, then with Iraq, the Soviets proposed a similar treaty with Syria, but balked at granting Syria, in exchange, a substantial increase in military aid. No treaty was signed. During the months that preceded the October war, the Syrians bore the cost of the Soviets' reluctance. In the course of air raids, the inferiority of the Syrian armament with respect to that of the Israelis was clearly demonstrated. If the Soviet Union had wanted to make of Damascus the successor to Cairo, it would have acceded to the requests of the Syrian government as it had done in agreeing to rearm Egypt after the Six-Day War.

The USSR's relations with Iraq are also not those of a solid alliance. Moscow cut off its deliveries of arms to Iraq in June 1975 (they were not resumed until August 1976). The Iraqis had used their military resources for purposes that were not altogether in conformity with Soviet aims. Neither their rapprochement with Iran, nor the one that followed with Egypt, nor the conflict they waged with Syria were to the liking of the Soviets. The lesson was a hard-learned one: The furnishing of military aid is not sufficient to guarantee a dependency relationship, which is the intrinsic element of the Soviet concept of alliance. Although Soviet-Iraqi relations improved between 1972 and 1975, "Iraq has never been a Soviet satellite." The USSR has never had this as an objective and the "waning" of Soviet influence by comparison with 1971-1972 is therefore entirely relative.

The conflict that pitted the two Yemens against each other in February 1979 illustrates the ambivalence of the Soviet concept of alliance. Iraq, Jordan and Syria, as representatives of the Arab League, sided with North Yemen against the invasion on the part of South Yemen. They mediated and succeeded in bringing the South Yemenite invasion to an end. The USSR decided not to oppose the action of the three Arabic countries, which, like itself, had opposed the Camp David agreements. Moreover, the Americans had backed North Yemen. Although the friendship and cooperation treaty was not signed until 2 years later, the USSR's relations with South Yemen had for years been carried on in terms of protector and protected.

Moscow's attitude differs from that of Washington, which defends almost unconditionally its principal ally in the region: Israel. The criterion of Soviet actions is not the quest for loyal allies but the desire not to alienate any Middle Eastern state. They have shown in several instances over the past 10 years that they prefer to not oppose a state, even a pro-Western one, rather than back an "ally" or "friend" to the hilt. They maintained relations with the shah of Iran and continue to attach great importance to the contacts they maintain with Khomeyni's Iran. In the Iranian-Iraqi conflict, which has been going on for 2 years, they have been careful not to take sides. They are also trying to approach the "nonprogressive" Arabic countries with kid gloves; this attitude made its unmistakable appearance during the Camp David negotiations and again in 1982. Moscow took advantage of the Arabic opposition to Israel, exacerbated by the invasion of Lebanon, to launch a diplomatic offensive on the side of the moderate countries. The tone of the Soviet press has grown more conciliatory towards Mubarak's Egypt. Visiting Arabic delegations (Kuwaiti and Jordanian, in particular) have been warmly received in the USSR and in certain socialist countries; for example, Sheikh Sabah Al Ahmed paid an official visit to Czechoslovakia in July 1982. The USSR was not wrong in reckoning that, despite the small part it has taken since the start of the conflict, the prolongation of the crisis would induce the Arabs to maintain, or to establish, contacts with Moscow.

By not taking sides against countries like Saudi Arabia, Jordan and even Egypt since the death of al-Sadat, the USSR is pursuing another objective: To prevent the formation of a pro-Western front and of alliances with the United States.

Viewed from this new angle, the results of the 1970's have not been negative. On the one hand, there is no militant anti-Sovietism in the Middle East, with except for the verbal aggressivity of the Khomeyni regime. On the other hand, the United States has not consolidated its network of alliances. In 1979, the CENTO [Central Treaty Organization] fell apart under the impact of the Iranian revolution<sup>2</sup>. In short, the USSR has held on to "friends" or "clients" that offer advantages other than those of "allies" in the traditional sense of the term and respond better to the requirements of the current Soviet strategy. This strategy is characterized by a prudence and a flexibility that are not well served by close-knit and exclusive bilateral relations. For, in this region of the world, if one is the unconditional friend of one state, he risks becoming the enemy of his neighbor.

### The Fomenting of Socialist Regimes

The Soviet realizations in this domain must be viewed from two standpoints: That of the communist parties and progressive forces, on the one hand; that of the orientation of national regimes, on the other.

If one of Moscow's objectives has been to strengthen the revolutionary parties and forces in the Middle East, the last 10 years have resulted in a total failure. In most of the states considered, the communists have failed to impose themselves on the state's internal political life. Among the causes of this weakness, three warrant underlining.

First of all, Soviet policy has not helped the development of independent communist parties. Since 1964, the USSR has been encouraging the communists to participate in "national fronts" together with other parties. Moscow's concern has been to not undermine the possibilities of cooperation with the states of the Middle East by too openly backing the communists. Bilateral relations at state level have been accorded top priority. Secondly, Muslim fundamentalist movements have gained a rising influence and are competing with the leftist forces. Thirdly, most of the governments have unleashed successive waves of anticommunist repression. Close ties with Moscow render local communist parties all the more vulnerable to fluctuations in the relations between their national governments and the USSR. "No sooner were the Arab communists brought under [Moscow] control than they became more and more dependent on relations between the regime in power and the Soviet Union. During periods of friction, they were subjected to severe repressive measures; this was the case in Egypt in 1958 and 1972 (and since), in Syria in 1958, in Iraq in 1963... and in 1978 (and since), in Algeria after the upsetting of Ben Bella, and in Sudan after the failed procommunist coup against Nemeiry in 1971."

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2) In 1955, Turkey and Iraq signed a military alliance pact, the Baghdad Pact, to which Great Britain, Pakistan and Iran also became signatories later. Despite American pressures, Egypt did not become a member. Following the 1958 coup, Iraq withdrew from the Pact, which was thereafter designated the CENTO.

Egypt and Iraq offer striking examples. Soviet involvement in these two states did not dissuade their governments from pursuing anticommunist policies. The USSR is not anxious to defend a brother party at the expense of a breaking off of intergovernmental relations. Presently, only the Syrian, South Yemenite and Iranian<sup>3</sup> communist parties are maintaining a relatively normal existence. And the Israeli one!

Within the Palestinian movement, the communist faction is not predominant. Its principal force, the PLO, is headed by Arafat's moderate faction. This state of things, with its fellow-travelers relegated to the background, has definitely limited the USSR's ability to exert influence. Arafat visits Moscow accompanied by a Palestinian communist, but diplomacy occupies its rightful place.

The past decade was marked by a weakening of communist movements--as well as of socialist movements such as the Ba'th--and by a strengthening of two convergent forces: Nationalism and Muslim fundamentalism.

The second axis, in the Soviet policy of "propagation of socialism," is the encouragement of the formation of progressive regimes oriented on the Soviet model. The results have not been convincing. The revolutions and coups d'etat that have taken place since 1970 have not brought "socialist-oriented" regimes into power<sup>4</sup>. The sole exceptions, according to the official Soviet interpretation, have been Syria and South Yemen. (Afghanistan also is in this category, but the fact of the Soviet intervention makes it a case apart). South Yemen is situated at the periphery of the Middle East and the evolution of the Aden regime carries little or no weight in the choices of the other Arabic countries. On the other hand, two major trends have come into being since the 1960's: The installation of military regimes in Libya, Turkey, Iraq and Sudan; and the proclamation of an Islamic republic in Iran.

Does the Soviet Union view the lack of success of "Soviet socialism" as a major setback? Without doubt, the Soviet leaders had entertained the hope that progressive regimes would increase their radius of action in the Middle East. The year 1969 must have appeared to them full of promise, with the toppling of the reactionary regimes in the Sudan, South Yemen and Libya. Perhaps also the (temporary) improvement in the position of the communist Arabs had encouraged thought of a more effective use of the communist parties in the furtherance of Soviet interests.

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3) With reservations, since the Iranian communist party, the Tudeh, is at this time (end of 1982) entering a difficult phase in its relations with Khomeyni.

4) Soviet phraseology in this respect has evolved. The concepts of "national democracy" and "revolutionary democracy" have been abandoned in favor of new concepts--"noncapitalist road to development" and "socialist-oriented countries"--to take more into account the complexity of the developmental process and the many "third ways." A sharp distinction is drawn between "socialist-oriented countries" and "socialist countries."

However, as of 1982, the implantation of socialist regimes is not--or no longer--an aim of Soviet strategy. If the USSR had really been counting on the progressive forces in the Arab world, it would have backed them more solidly. During the Lebanese crises, the PLO received only limited Soviet aid. Nor has the USSR used all the means of pressure at its disposal to improve the status of the communists. It has chosen to place intergovernmental relations and the stability of national governments above ideological considerations. It is according more value to the "anti-imperialist" role of the progressive forces than to their "revolutionary" potential. Moscow helped the Iraqi government to combat the Kurd movement during the years 1971-1975. Baghdad's neutralism is more valued than the faring of the Iraqi revolutionaries or than structural reforms toward a more "socialist" domestic system.

The Soviets' objective is to hold on to the anti-imperialist forces, whether they be national regimes, movements or social classes: Khomeyni's Iran, South Yemen, the Firm Front Against the Camp David Agreements, and "Arab Unity" are some of the trump cards the Soviets can count on, without endangering their relations with the Arabic countries.

The Soviets are avoiding criticizing Islam, because they have realized the importance of the phenomenon and the profits they can reap from it. The Soviet authorities are pursuing a policy of calculated delay with the Muslim countries, using the peoples of Central Asia as evidence of the viability of coexistence between Marxism and Islam.

Arab unity is a leitmotiv of Soviet commentary. Every crisis in the Middle East intensifies Soviet appeals to Arab solidarity. In 1973, at the time of the oil embargo, G. Mirskii, a specialist on Middle East affairs, wrote that the 1973 war had dispelled the myth of the "so-called fragility and of the illusory nature of Arab solidarity. Today, that solidarity, resting on a sense of Arab brotherhood and on the awareness of having to face a common enemy, is an incontrovertible fact that has been confirmed by the battle of October. Iraqi, Moroccan, Jordanian and Sudanese troops have fought side by side with the Syrian army; the Palestinians and the Kuwaitis have also taken part in the action and an Algerian plane has taken part in the aerial war." During the spring of 1982, the Lebanese war produced a similar reaction. On 6 July, PRAVDA reported on the meeting between the Arab League representatives and Gromyko in Moscow. The latter stated that "special attention was devoted to the fact that this situation demanded, as never before, the unity and solidarity of the Arab countries and peoples." According to the Soviets, the lack of Arab unity plays into the hands of the United States and Israel; the latest plan of the Americans is to weaken the national liberation movement of the Arab peoples.

The USSR defends the cause of "Arab unity" but not that of "pan-Arabism," which could become the dominant ideological and political force in the Arab world, thus limiting the impact of foreign influences. In 1958, Moscow viewed with considerable annoyance the creation of the United Arab Republic

uniting Egypt and Syria (the joining of the UAR by Yemen remained a mere formality). Too united an Arab world at governmental levels would be detrimental to Soviet interests, which are largely based on divisions among Arab states. On the other hand, Arab unity is encouraged when it can serve to stiffen opposition to a pro-Western nation. Arab solidarity against the Camp David "separate peace" and against Israel sharpens the polarization of conflicts that is so useful to the maintenance of Soviet influence.

The USSR's "ideological" action is directed toward supporting those political forces (governments, movements, social classes, arab solidarity) that maintain an anti-Western climate in the Middle East. This objective, which is more modest than the implantation of socialist and unconditionally pro-Soviet regimes, has in large measure been attained.

The Middle East contains but a single, hundred-percent pro-American state: Israel. And the tensions between the two allies that have followed the 1982 Lebanese war could, to some extent, loosen the bonds. Iran is waging a contagious anti-imperialism propaganda campaign. Most of the Arab states are "friend" of Moscow or "neutralists." The states closest to the Western powers aspire to a greater political independence vis-a-vis the West, and above all, the United States. This is the case of Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Jordan and the Emirates, which, at times, have even sided in common cause with less moderate neighboring states.

#### Economic Influence

The pursuit of economic interests is the third criterion generally associated with Soviet strategy. Two theses are advanced to explain the USSR's economic objectives in the Middle East. The first relates to the reliability of supplies: The Soviet Union will soon become a net importer of oil and, taking into account also the energy needs of its East European allies, it is making every effort to ensure its supplies through economic cooperation with the producer nations. The second thesis rests on the conventional concept of economic power: As a world power, the USSR is seeking to establish, in a region of vital importance, an economic influence comparable to that of the United States and of the West in general.

If indeed it is, for the Soviets, a matter of ensuring the reliability of their supplies, the objective is far from being attained. Two principal sources of imports, Iranian gas and Iraqi oil, are tending to dry up as a result of the Iranian revolution and the conflict between Baghdad and Tehran. The Soviet Union has not become an important customer of the other OPEC countries, which would have enabled it to diversify its sources of supply. According to Soviet statistics, the USSR, in 1979, exported 320 million tons equivalent oil [tep] (or around 15 percent of its energy production) and imported only 21 million tons in all. Soviet oil exports equal Iraq's in terms of quantity. One-third is sold to the West against hard currencies. The remaining two-thirds supply the socialist countries at prices that have been rising since 1975. The Soviets are encouraging the Eastern countries to turn toward other suppliers, so as to free a larger portion of Siberian production

for export to Europe at high prices<sup>5</sup>. But these efforts have not produced the anticipated results, since the CAEM [expansion unknown] countries do not have the means for an independent energy policy. The OPEC members prefer payment in hard currency, while their East European customers are interested in concluding barter agreements. The latter arrangements represented around 50 percent of their crude oil purchases in 1974; since then, this percentage has fallen off. American estimates indicate that East European imports from the Middle East are running far below the quantities stipulated in their procurement plans. The East European economies are experiencing rising difficulties. If the USSR reduces its deliveries of oil and gas to the CAEM partners (which it has apparently decided to do), the latter will be compelled to buy from OPEC at very unfavorable terms of exchange.

Thus, the Soviet Union, despite its ties with certain OPEC countries, has not succeeded in obtaining guarantees either as regards prices or as regards quantities of oil and gas to be bought by the CAEM. However, the reliability of energy supplies appears to occupy a low position in the USSR's scale of strategic concerns. The USSR remains a net exporter of oil and gas. Although the waves produced by the oil shock affected the Soviets, their importance must not be overestimated (their effects on the Western economies were far more destabilizing). The USSR does not depend, over the near term or the medium term, on energy resources from the Middle East. Its foreign purchases represent only comparative advantages. For example, the IGAT [expansion unknown] gas pipeline, built in cooperation with Iran, enabled the supplying of the Caucasian republics at a lower cost, comparatively speaking, than would have been incurred in pumping Siberian gas to the Caucasus. Siberia could then supply Western Russia and Eastern Europe. The importing of Iraqi oil was based on similar considerations. "There is nothing to indicate that the acquisition of large quantities of Middle East Oil is one of the Soviets' priorities. If they really preferred this option, they would probably try to obtain advantageous terms of exchange as compared with their own marginal production costs. Even though the latter are high, they do not appear to be as high as oil prices on the world market. Therefore, the Soviets prefer to try to lower their own production costs, by importing Western equipment, for example.

The second thesis, based on objectives associated with economic power, is as difficult to sustain as is the first. The big projects undertaken under Khrushchev, such as the Aswan Dam in Egypt, did indeed point to a tendency to put a priority on prestige-type undertakings. But, in the radically new context of the 1970's, that policy appears to have been abandoned. Economic influence can no longer be acquired on the basis of such ambitious projects. The Third World countries have realized that their economic development must be based on ongoing aid, less prestigious but more suited to their immediate problems. If the Soviets are indeed seeking to enhance their economic role for political ends, their sole viable policy would be to develop economic

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5) At the beginning of September 1982, the USSR reduced its deliveries of energy raw materials to the RDA [Democratic Republic of Germany] by 10 percent.

cooperation with the Arabic countries and become their privileged trade partner. This is not the case as of now. Oil revenues have enabled the OPEC countries to diversify their trade. Even Iraq, which in 1977-1980 furnished around 90 percent of Soviet oil imports from the Middle East, is now very independent of Moscow.

Three reasons may explain the USSR's limited economic presence. The first has to do with its own internal economic difficulties, which do not permit the Soviets to offer many loans at attractive interest rates. The second weakness lies in the lack of complementarity between the economies of the Middle East and that of the Soviets (the USSR is rich in raw materials). The third reason stems from the fact that the USSR is not (or is no longer) seeking to dominate the economies of the Arab countries. It has realized that it can hardly compete against the Western countries in the economic arena. It has also realized that neither economic agreements, nor even, in certain cases, military cooperation, have succeeded in spinning the threads of a relationship of dependency and obedience. Be it in the case of "progressive" Syria or in that of pro-capitalist Saudi Arabia, the Soviets are pursuing modest economic objectives.

On the other hand, one of their motivations is to posit themselves as a fall-back solution in case of immediate need on the part of an Arabic country, and, over the long term, to offer those states that currently prefer to do business with the West the possibility of economic diversification. Another aspect of their policy is to encourage trade between the producers of raw materials and the countries of Eastern Europe.

Moscow has no vital economic interest in the Middle East, but it has been quick to perceive that such is not the case for the Western powers. As far back as 1956, the Soviets had already put their finger on the potential stakes in oil. At the time of the Suez crisis, they supported Nasir against an armed intervention which "would cause considerable damage to the Suez Canal and to the oil wells located in the Arabic countries and the pipelines running through the territories of these countries." In 1972, the USSR offered Iraq economic aid to help it nationalize oil production. In 1973, despite the difficulties caused it by the rise in oil prices, the USSR was delighted at the oil embargo and the use of the "oil weapon" by OPEC. "Conditions are now favorable for the use of oil by the Arabs as an economic and political weapon against the capitalist countries that are supporting the Israeli aggression." The Yom Kippur War and the oil crisis revived Arab solidarity "against imperialism," which benefited Soviet policy. During the Lebanese crisis of the summer of 1982, the USSR prodded the Arabs to use the oil weapon. In a TASS commentary, Grigorii Vasilev said that the Arabic countries had forgotten "the vast potential of the Arabs, who, if they could settle their differences, could play a decisive role in opposing the Israeli aggression and the fight against those who are backing this aggression... We have in mind, above all, the oil weapon; most of the Arabic states have that weapon."



The USSR's objective is not to cut off, by political or military means, the supplies of the Western powers. On the other hand, it leans toward urging the economic independence of the states of the Middle East that are themselves in a position to resort to the "economic weapon" and apply pressures against the Western countries. From this standpoint, it is in Moscow's interest not to hinder the commercial ties between the Arab world and the West. During these last years, the Soviets have maintained a margin of maneuver in the economic arena, at not too high a cost. Their security and their economic development have not been closely tied to OPEC resources, unlike the case of some Western countries. They have nevertheless maintained the possibility of resorting to the Arabic countries to supply the CAEM with energy raw materials. They have also reduced the relative cost of their economic aid to the states of the Middle East.

### Conclusion

The events of the summer of 1982 illustrate the pragmatism inherent in the Soviet Union's Middle East strategy. The principal remarks of the preceding pages could have been written prior to the latest Lebanese crisis. In our opinion, the latter has only borne out the well-foundedness of the analysis.

Why should the USSR become actively involved in all the conflictual situations that are perturbing the surface of the globe? The intervention in Afghanistan and the inroads on the African continent have contributed greatly to a distorted view of Soviet foreign policy. Over the last several years, the USSR has certainly demonstrated a singular ability to "exploit the opportunities," to make the most of chaotic political situations, as in Angola and Mozambique. But this does not mean that the Soviet leaders are seeking to inject themselves into the affairs of every country or every region where insecurity prevails. The "exploitation" of situations is not an absolute rule with the Kremlin.

The Soviets have an acute awareness of the risks and the costs, and of the gains possible, with respect to any undertaking outside their own borders. In the Middle East, they have the benefit of 30 years of experience. The numerous crises that have followed one after the other there, practically without interruption, during the post-war period, have taught them an object lesson in circumspection toward "too good to be true" solutions to the problems of that region. In this regard, the 1982 Soviet attitude is basically not a new one. In 1967 and 1973, its leadership also followed a pragmatic approach, motivated essentially by a determination not to escalate matters to East-West confrontational levels. The rise in tensions to the point of formulation of a nuclear threat in the fall of 1973 left the USSR convinced of the need to control more effectively the extension of local conflicts. A similar situation must not be allowed to recur. And, since 1973, it has not recurred. The lines of action being followed by Moscow are in conformity with these "negative" objectives (that is, avoiding what needs to be avoided owing to existing constraints).

The USSR is seeking neither to set up a close-knit network of alliances with the Arabic countries, nor to impose the formation of pro-Soviet socialist regimes, nor to gain privileged access to the economic resources of the Middle East. Soviet strategy is aimed, presently at least, at less "voluntarist" objectives that take into account numerous constraints, such as peaceful coexistence, American and Israeli power, inter-Arab dissensions, the independence-mindedness of the states of the Middle East, and the cost of economic and military aid.

In the Lebanese war and the Iranian-Iraqi conflict to date, all of these considerations have operated as moderating factors. This does not mean that the USSR has abandoned its ambitions in the Middle East. It has not provided its "clients" (Syria and the PLO, principally) all-out support, but neither has it allowed a strengthening of the American position. Its prestige has undoubtedly suffered once again as a result of this "laxism" in its relations with its Arabic friends. Conflicts, nevertheless, both latent and current, perpetuate a fluid political climate; that is, a climate subject to frequent changes in the political and military situation, and propitious to the maintaining of foreign influences.

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CSO: 4419/2

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### LIVING EXPENSE INCREASES IN ARAB PENINSULA REVIEWED

Dubayy AL-BAYAN in Arabic 19 Aug 83 p 3

[Article: "Compared To The Seventies, Living Expenses Have Increased 83 Percent in the UAE, 6 Percent in Saudi Arabia, 107 Percent in Bahrain, 21 Percent in Qatar and 32.5 Percent in Kuwait]

[Text] The figures on living expenses in the UAE show an average increase of 82.8 percent at the end of 1982 over their levels in the middle Seventies. According to the statistics of the economic publication of the Gulf central banks, the increase from the middle Seventies up to 1980 amounted to 69.8 percent, while other figures in a recent report of the UAE's Ministry of Planning indicate that the increase between 1980 and the end of 1982 amounted to about 13 percent.

According to the statistics of the Gulf central banks' economic publication, the increase in measureable figures of living expenses in the other Gulf Cooperation Council [GCC] nations at the end of 1982 ranged from 107 percent in Bahrain, compared with 1975, a 6 percent increase in Saudi Arabia, compared with 1979, 21 percent in Qatar, compared with 1979, and 32.5 percent in Kuwait, compared with 1978.

As for Oman, figures were not available for it. Housing is considered one of the highest items, since it increased in the UAE by 118.9 percent between the middle Seventies and 1980, according to the report of the Gulf central banks, while, according to the report of the Ministry of Planning, it recorded an increase between 1980 and 1982, of 62.7 percent in Abu Dhabi, 39 percent in Dubayy and 42 percent in al-Shariqah. This means that the general average increased more than 150 percent in the UAE between the middle Seventies and 1982.

The increase in housing expenses was huge in Bahrain between 1975 and 1982, amounting to 285 percent, while housing expenses in Saudi Arabia went down by 12.4 percent in 1982 over its level in 1979. In Qatar, the increase totaled 23.9 percent in 1982 compared with 1979, but declined by 8.2 percent in 1982 compared with its level in 1981. In Kuwait, the increase in housing expenses was 27.1 percent in 1982 over its level in 1978.

The increase in the prices of foodstuffs in the UAE was about 51 percent, while being 54.6 percent in Bahrain, 12.7 percent in Saudi Arabia, 123.6 percent in Qatar, and 22.4 percent in Kuwait, using the previously mentioned years as comparison. With respect to clothing and cosmetics, the increase ranged between 19 percent in the UAE, 85 percent in Bahrain, 23.4 percent in Saudi Arabia, 22.8 percent in Qatar and 56.7 percent in Kuwait.

As regards necessary consumer commodities, the increase in the UAE amounted to 82.3 percent, while it was 89.2 percent in Bahrain, 2 percent in Saudi Arabia, 13.8 percent in Qatar, and 21.7 percent in Kuwait.

As for transportation and communications, the increase in their expenses increased about 48 percent in the UAE, 77.1 percent in Bahrain, 15.5 percent in Saudi Arabia, 12.7 percent in Qatar, and 35.8 percent in Kuwait.

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

STATUS OF CHRISTIAN COMMUNITIES IN ARAB WORLD DISCUSSED

Paris LE MONDE in French 18-19 Sep 83 pp 3-4

[Article by Paul Balta: "Christian Arabs: Unloved Brothers"]

[Text] They are talked about mostly in connection with Lebanon, where they are enduring severe hardships and where their number guarantees them political expression and clout. But the Maronites are not the sole Christian Arabs. They are a branch of a large number of Christian communities of the Orient whose lots have varied widely: From relegation to the fringes of society, on the one hand, to playing an essential role, on the other; from coexistence to massacre; from "protection" to forced modernization. Some of these communities have disappeared or have dwindled. Who has been responsible for this? The Muslims? The great powers? Deeply rooted, as they are, in their native localities, are the Christian Arabs inexorably doomed to hardship and exile? Their misfortunes stem, first of all, from their position as little-known and therefore unloved brothers.

A connecting link, however, in spite of everything...

In 1962, a delegation of Syrian and Lebanese intellectuals went to newly independent Algeria to convey greetings from the Machrek (the Arabic East). One of the delegation's members was a Christian. The Algerians he met could not understand how he could also be an "Arab." And he found himself repeatedly engaged in the following exchange with his interlocutors:

"I assure you, I am not an Arabized Arab, an Arab by culture, like the Egyptians and the Berbers of the Maghreb [the Arabic West, i.e., Northwest Africa]. I am ethnically and racially Arabic. By blood, if you prefer."

"Then you are a Muslim..."

"No! Except for the Copts of Egypt, most of the Christians of the Near East are true Arabs."

"That is impossible. Christians are "roumi" (Byzantines and, by extension, Europeans), and Arabs are Muslims."

"To explain myself more clearly, let us say that I am a 'Christian Muslim.'"

"Well, that does clarify the whole thing. Why didn't you say so before?"

Ever since the eruption of the Lebanese crisis in 1975, a crisis to the solution of which nothing was contributed by the Israeli invasion in 1982, the incessant topic of talk has been the Christian communities of the East, embedded in their native soil in Lebanon and elsewhere, and forming, in their very diversity, that "Arabic Church" referred to by Jean Corbon (Ed. du Cerf, Paris [publishers]). And yet... Father 'Ali Shuran of the Chaldean Church of Iraq tells of the time he stopped at a service station in the region of Paris and the Moroccan station attendant would not believe that the clergyman could possibly be Arabic and Christian. Monsignor Nasrallah, a Melkite bishop of Paris, evoked the same disbelief, but on the part of a former Tunisian minister of foreign affairs!

The Maghrebians are not the only ones who have trouble accepting the following four premises: 1) All Arabs are not Muslims; 2) All Muslims are not Arabs; 3) The Arabic world is made up of Christians and Muslims; 4) Within the Arab League countries, Christian Arabs represent around 10 percent of the population (but there are practically none between Libya and Mauritania, inclusively). Muslim Arabs comprise only 15 to 20 percent of the world's Muslim population, depending on whether this population is estimated at 750 million or 1 billion persons.

'Trojan Horse of the West'

Added to ignorance and underestimation is the dialectic of the ratio of forces between the majority and the minority, which impels the mental and sociological mechanisms. The same Christians who yesterday, in a climate of tolerance, asserted loftily their Arabic ethnicity and their contribution to Muslim civilization, are to be found today proclaiming in a cry of desperate rage: "We are not Arabs!" Why? Because some Muslims consider them a "fifth column" or the "Trojan horse of the West," and say to their faces: "The Arabic language, the sacred language of the Koran, is not to be Christianized!" Hatred, despair and fear, however, cannot hide a reality that is rich in surprises and in paradoxes for those who are willing to forgo rejecting it in advance.

As the vehicle that carried Arabic expansion to its apogee, Islam eclipsed the contribution and the role of the Arabic kingdoms dating back to the 6th century B.C. We cite, among others the Nabataean Kingdom of Petra in what is now Jordan; the Kingdom of al-Hirah, near al-Kufah, in Iraq; that of Edessa, in Mesopotamia, center of the Syriac civilization; that of Palmyra, the ancient Tadmor, the "City of the Palms," strategic hub in the Syrian desert.

All were important links in the process of Arabization of the region that resulted in replacement of the Aramaic, the language spoken by Christ, by Arabic, as the vehicular language, well before the advent of Islam. With the

advent of Christianity, the cities spread monotheism and Arabic at one and the same time, and it should not be forgotten that Queen Zenobia's chancellor of the exchequer (3rd century) was the famous bishop Paul of Samosata. An Arab.

#### Co-Authors of the 'Golden Age'

It was from al-Hirah that Christian merchants and poets traveled to the Arabian Peninsula, where they were welcomed by flourishing Nestorian bishoprics in Bahrein, Qatar and Oman. It is to the Christian scribes of al-Hirah that the Arabic alphabet owes the exemplar that later became that of the Koranic scriptures, while the Kufic alphabet form irresistibly brings to mind the Syriac calligraphy. The first known Arabic inscriptions ornament the lintels of two churches in Syria dating from the same year as Muhammad's birth: 571. Both Christians and Jews lived at al-Hijaz, and more especially at Mecca, at that time.

The Christian Arabs were the best allies of Muhammad's successors during the conquest of the Fertile Crescent (Syria, Palestine, Iraq) against the Byzantines on the north and the Sassanides on the east. It was Sophronius, patriarch of Jerusalem, who negotiated with Caliph Umar the surrender of the city, and Sarjun, a Melkite Arab, who turned over Damascus to Khalid Ibn-al-Walid. And it was Christians who organized and ensured the survival of the Umayyad Caliphate. Upon the death of Mu'awiyah (680), founder of the dynasty, his son Yazid, exposed to the rivalry of Ibn-Zubayr, appealed for help to his maternal uncles, who kept the throne from tottering. Maysun, his mother, was a Christian who remained faithful to Bedouin customs. Preferring the austerity of the tent to the splendors of palaces, she wrote these words:

"To dress in sackcloth and feel free is worth more to me than the richest of cloths."

Subsequently, when during the 8th century Caliph 'Abd-al-Malik bade farewell to the Christian officials of his government, his administration came to a paralyzed halt and he had to recall them. St. John of Damascus, grandson of Sarjun, was minister of finance and of the "mouqatila" (combatants), although, theoretically, Christians were not eligible to hold political or military office.

Under the Abbasids (750-1258), the Christian Arabs (and the Iranians) contributed decisively to the "Golden Age" of the muslim civilization. They translated the works of The Greek philosophers, physicians and men of learning, even as they took part in the inventions that made Baghdad the center of the world of thought and of science until the 10th century\*. Under the dynasty of

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\* Joseph Nasrallah has undertaken the publication of an 8-volume "Histoire du mouvement litteraire dans l'Eglise Melkite du V<sup>e</sup> au XX<sup>e</sup> siecle" [History of the Literary Movement in the Melkite Church From the 5th to the 20th Century], three volumes of which have already appeared and deal with the periods 968-1250, 1250-1516 and 1724-1800. Available from Ed. Peters, Louvain and from the author at 17, rue du Petit-Pont, 75 005. The reader may also consult issues 105 to 107 (January-April 1983) of FRANCE-PAYS ARABES dedicated to the Christian Arabs (12-14, rue Augereau, 75 007 Paris).

the Ayyubids (1171-1250), founded by the valorous Saladin (a Kurd), the Christians still filled an eminent role and most of them took part in the resistance against the Crusaders. The climate changed considerably, however, under domination by the Mamluks, non-Arabs, who reigned from 1250 to 1517.

#### The 'Dhimmah' Statute

Sociologically, the status of the Christians took a downturn. The Prophet considered them, together with the Jews, as "Ahl-al-Kitab" (Book People); his relations with the Christian Arabic tribes were based on the principle of alliances through tribute and submission and apparently did not involve the statute that would later prevail when his successors set out to conquer the world, namely, that of the "dhimmah" (protection pact).

Under that pact, the Christians (like the Jews), as monotheists and members of a minority, were considered "dhimmis" (proteges). The dhimmah restricted their participation in the life of the city. They were subjected to a special tax and to restrictions on individual freedoms (distinctive dress, denial of the right to ride noble animals like the horse), family freedoms (personal status), economic freedoms (occupational restrictions), freedoms pertaining to worship (processions, bells), and civic freedoms (prohibition against holding administrative, political and military offices of responsibility).

Under the Ottoman Empire, the situation worsened with respect to the era of the Mamluks. The constraints were tightened: To the dhimmah was added the concept of "millahs" (singular: "millah," a religious doctrine peculiar to a community or a nation). The dhimmah, applied in its strictest sense, tended to relegate the Christian communities to the societal fringes; the latter, however, continued to live in harmony with the Muslims: Their members entered the liberal professions (medicine, finance, literature, arts) and they assumed a role within the society.

The millah, on the other hand, created a break: It preserved these communities, of course; but, in periods of crisis, the central government suspected them of being "allies or agents of the foreigner." It is true, on the other hand, that, when tensions became too great, certain communities tended to consider the outside powers as a recourse. Thus, in 1860, the massacre of Christians by the Druse, with the backing of the Turks, brought about an intervention by France but also by Amir 'Abd-al-Qadir, exiled in Damascus.

The lot of all minorities--even if the dhimmah is no longer applied--is to live a life of heartbreak. But they accept this situation with more or less grace depending on the behavior of the majority. It follows that the dominated cannot be prevented from wanting to become the dominators, or, at the very least, from dreaming of revenge, as is naively illustrated in a bas-relief in the Mar Bihnam monastery (12th century) 35 kilometers south of Mossoul, in Iraq.



## A Vitalizing Factor

At the time, Caliph al-Mutawakkil had ordered the Christians to nail up on their doors wooden images of the demon; therefore, the sculptor represented Bihnam, patron saint of the monastery, adorned with all the attributes forbidden to the Christians: He rides horseback, bedecked with crosses, and is armed with a lance with which he prostrates the devil!

Relegation, however, has its paradox. Lived as a stimulus by a minority trying to survive in an environment tending toward ossification, it can become a vitalizing factor. This was the case in the 19th century. Reacting to the Turkish occupation, the Syrian and Lebanese intellectuals, Christians for the most part, took to the road of exile and found themselves in contact with the liberal and revolutionary movements that were frothing up in Europe, as well as witnessing its scientific discoveries and industrial dynamism. Most of them went on to settle in Egypt, and their movement was at the origin of the Nahdah (renaissance) that has imparted to the Arab world its profound distinctiveness on both the cultural and political levels.

The revolt against the Ottoman occupation was fomented in the name of Arab nationalism, which united Christians and Muslims. A Lebanese, Najib 'Azuri, published, in 1905, "le Reveil de la nation arabe" [Awakening of the Arab Nation], and the great Egyptian writer Taha Husayn has unhesitatingly said, "All that is modern Arabic has come to us from the Lebanese." Indeed, it was a Lebanese, Khalil Jibran, ("le Prophete" [The Prophet], "la Voie ailee" [The Winged Way]; Ed. Sinbad, Paris), who revolutionized its prose. The great Egyptian newspapers AL-AHRAM, AL-MUQATTAM, AL-HILAL, were founded, respectively, by three Lebanese families: A Catholic, a Protestant, and an Orthodox. From an ideological standpoint, the Ba'th Party, of which a Christian, Michel 'Aflaq, was the cofounder, as well as certain national communist parties and Palestinian movements founded or promoted by Christians, advocate a laicized Arab nation in which Christians and Muslims would coexist. Nasir's modernist ideology followed the same path, at least up to a certain point.

## Blood and Exile

But as hope began to rise with the Nahdah, tragedy also made its appearance with the agony of the "sick man of Europe." In Ottoman Turkey, the Armenian genocide of 1915, followed by the genocide of the Syriac, Orthodox and Catholic Churches in Eastern Anatolia, gave rise to a first and painful exodus. In 1925 in Ataturk's Turkey, in 1933 in Iraq, and in 1946 in Iran, these churches paid with blood and exile for the rivalries among the great powers that coveted the oil of Kurdistan.

In 1948, with the founding of the state of Israel, the Palestinian drama had its start, affecting the whole of the region and driving its people from one country to the other. The failure of the modernist and nationalist ideologies to find a solution spurred the rise of political Islam and of Islamic integrationism, which opposes the Nahdah, accusing it of views smacking of heresy.

All of these reasons have produced three exoduses, in three generations, of Christian Arabs, who have endured profound feelings of fear and insecurity. Some even wonder whether a continuation of this hemorrhage will not lead, within some 50 years, to the disappearance of these communities, transforming them into a vast diaspora.

But there are also those who refuse to despair. Invited to Algeria by Boumediene in April 1978, the Melkite patriarch Maximos V--who next visited France from 21 to 28 September--in an address at the University of Algiers where he had just been made doctor of laws honoris causa, declared: "We, Muslim Arabs and Christian Arabs, are of a single race, worship the same God, and venerate the same prophets. Our well-being lies in recognizing our alterity, each of the other, in the values that each of us embodies. The Christian opening toward the West does not make of the Christian a false brother; rather, it makes of him a connecting link between two civilizations, two cultures, two religions that believe in the same God." Five years later, he expresses the same conviction, undiscouraged.

[Boxed insert p. 3 follows]:

#### Eleven Patriarchs

The Arab world comprises 11 churches, each headed by a patriarch: Five Orthodox and six Catholic. The latter "share ties with the pope of Rome." Each Orthodox Church has its Catholic Church counterpart. On the other hand, the Maronites, all of them Catholics, do not have an Orthodox branch. To these must be added Latin and Reformed Churches of recent formation. In the beginning, they all had a common stem: Antioch, the see of the Eastern Diocese, where Saint Barnabus, Saint Paul and Saint Peter all preached, in western Syria, near Aleppo; that city is found today in Turkey under the name of Antakya.

The Church of Antioch experienced three periods of major divisions. According to Jean Corbon, "five branches" appeared during the first millenium: The Melkite, Maronite, Jacobite, Nestorian and Armenian Churches. They were all national churches, except for the Melkite Church, which is transnational and established in many countries in and beyond the Near East (600,000 members in the Americas and Australia). They gave rise to rites. The Coptic rite is practised in Egypt and in Ethiopia; the Armenian rite is practised by the Armenian diaspora, part of which lives in the Arab world and is Arab-speaking although clearly not Arabic.

Following the end of the Middle Ages, the Latinization of the Maronites, which took place after the Crusades, produced "four grafts" of parallel branches to the Orthodox Churches, known as the Uniate (united to Rome) Churches: The Melkite or Greek Catholic, the Syriac (or Syrian) Catholic, the Chaldean, and the Armenian Catholic.

Principal Countries	Church	Catholics	Number	Orthodox or Reformed	Number
Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine, Israel, Syria	Melkite	Melkite Catholics or Greek Catholics	400,000	Greek Orthodox or Byzantines	600,000
Iraq, Lebanon, Syria	Western Syriac	Syriac (or Syriac) Catholics	150,000	Syriac Orthodox or Jacobites	170,000
Lebanon	Maronite	Maronites	1,000,000		
Iraq	Western Syriac	Chaldeans	500,000	Nestorians	50,000
Egypt	Coptic	Catholic Copts	100,000	Orthodox Copts	8,000,000
Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Syria	Armenian	Armenian Catholics	60,000	Armenian Orthodox or Gregorians	200,000
Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine, Jerusalem	Latin	Roman Catholics	200,000		
Entire Near East	Reformed			Various Persuasions	200,000
Total			2,410,000		9,220,000

In modern times, the European colonization and the proselytism of the American Protestants has produced "three adventitious roots" drawing on Western thought but recruiting among the Orthodox, namely, the Latin, the Reformed, and the Episcopalian-Evangelical Churches.

The figures shown in the accompanying table are indicative: States tend to minimize the numbers of Christians, and communities to inflate them. According to some estimates, Egypt's population comprises 15 percent of Christians, Syria's 14 percent, Jordan's 9 percent, Iraq's 5 percent, Lebanon's 50 percent, and the Palestinian population 13 percent. These percentages are also approximate, in that, the Lebanese Christians and the Iranian Chaldeans tend to include in their counts the faithful who have emigrated.

[Boxed insert p 4 follows]:

The Maronite Case: 'Lebanism' and 'Lebanity'

Lebanon was made a state--detaching it from Syria--to enable a heavy concentration of Christians living there to become a majority in an Arabic country. With the passage of time, they have become a minority, owing to the more intensive growth in the number of Muslims--Shiites and Sunnites--and to the extensive emigration of the Christians. The fiction of the 51 or of the 50 percent of Christians is maintained only by including this diaspora. As a member of the Arab League, and as a Christian-dominated state, Lebanon is also in a minority position with respect to its Muslim environment.

Whether it be a matter of individuals, of communities or of nations, there exists a psychology of the minority. Generally [and figuratively] speaking, a member of a minority is "quartered": He endures his situation as, at one and the same time, a bondage (he feels humiliated, put down) and a privilege (he is proud of his specificity). And, depending on the circumstances, he will adopt a suicidal attitude or develop a feeling of superiority. These themes are found in the works of most authors on the Christians of the East. Georges Corm, a Maronite, and knowledgeable in regard to multi-faith societies (having made them the subject of his thesis), has pointed up the analysis to highlight the Lebanese drama\*\*. He has divided minorities into four categories:

--Those who, unable to come to terms with their condition, "become 'agents' of the majority and climb the sociopolitical ladder";

--Those who seek to transcend their condition "by forming transethnically or religiously based movements tending to bring minorities and majorities together on a footing of equality." It is a matter of record that revolutionary movements aimed at establishing new ideological and social values attract large numbers of members of minorities. This is the case of the

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\*\* See article "The Near East at War," ESPRIT magazine, Paris, May-June 1983. Georges Corm is also the author of "Le Proche-Orient eclate" [The Near East Explosion], Maspero, Paris 1983.

Ba'th Party, of certain communist parties, and of the Palestinian movements. Often, they are Utopians who eventually lose contact with realities or who embark on an "authoritarian socialism" if they succeed in seizing the reins of power.

#### An Island in the Ocean

--Those who "transcend their condition by way of artistic and scientific creativity." Although they remain bound to their community, they nevertheless have a "cosmopolitan temperament" that enables them to maintain good relations with the majority as well as the minority. This, in particular, was the case of the Nahdah (renaissance) intellectuals. They are "optimists" and their profile is that of the "man of the Left."

--Lastly, and the most numerous: Those who are exceedingly attached to their community and whose "reason for living is to preserve the minority intact, to protect it from the external dangers," even at the price of preventing its evolution. Here, according to Corm, one deals with the typical case of the conservative, of the "pessimist," in short, of the "man of the Right."

The latter holds that Islam is "frozen," "immutable," and that it can therefore never evolve or laicize itself. "The singling out of Islam as the object of this specific criticism," writes Corm in this regard, "is all the more lacking in justification, in that, unlike Christianity, it has allowed a religious diversity to subsist within its very midst. Christian and Jewish minorities, heterodox Islamic sects. Not because of a particular nobleness of spirit, but because the theological bases of the Koranic source have coincided with economic interests, insofar as concerns the Christians and the Jews, to insure their existence within the Islamic sphere."

Within this context, the Christian leaderships have oscillated, since the beginning of the century, between a "militant conservative Christian 'Lebanism'" and a "liberal 'Lebanity'" intent upon an effective insertion of Lebanon into the difficult Arabic environment."

"Lebanism," in adversity, would lead to a pulling back of the community into a "little Christian Lebanon" of its own, where it would be its own master but a lone island in the Muslim ocean. It could also be imagined as a "confederative state" serving, in a way, to "legalize" the de facto partition that is tending to come into being, with the state responsible for defense and foreign relations, which are precisely the two domains most susceptible to controversy. Is it realistic? This solution would probably have the blessing of Israel, as the prelude to an ethnic and religious fragmentation of the Near East that would enhance the insertion of the Hebrew state and its pursuit of supremacy in the region.

Georges Corm clearly opts for "Lebanity." That is, for an "Islam-Christian Lebanon" and "an integrative society taking a full part, without external guardianship, in the future development of the Near East." "Since an associative society, based on the concept of two cultures, can only ever remain

a fragile balance," he advocates a "strong democratic state, integrating the Lebanese communities into a single culture--hence, a single allegiance--consisting of a genuine 'Lebanity.'"

Unlike the patriarch Maximos V (see above), he holds that the Christian communities "must cease positing themselves as the 'bridge,' the 'meeting point,' the 'connecting link' between the East and the West." The fact remains, however, that this is the role they have played throughout their history, especially during the Golden Age, without having lost their authenticity. This being the case, would it not be possible to reconcile the two viewpoints? And is it possible to bring Georges Corm to see that, while much depends on the attitude of the Christians, even more depends on the response the Muslims give to these two questions: Do you consider the Christians as believers, hence as brothers? Or do you consider them infidels and traitors? If the first, then a symbiosis can be contemplated; if the second, then only the end, soon, of the Christian Arabic presence on Arabic soil.

9238

CSO: 4419/1

MAYU VIEWS TIES WITH UNITED STATES, ISRAEL

PM101426 Cairo MAYU in Arabic 3 Oct 83 pp 1,7

[Chief Editor Sabri Abu al-Majd article: "Despite Campaigns, Plots, and Maneuvers President Mubarak's Visit Was Quite Successful"]

[Excerpts] Reports from the United States indicated that there were great preparations there to poison the atmosphere during President Husni Mubarak's visit and to prevent the achievement of the objectives of his trip both for the Egyptian side and the U.S. side. There were preparations for campaigns, plots, and maneuvers by some of the Americans supporting Israel and opposing Egypt's policy. It is no secret that Israeli officials never ceased strongly criticizing Egyptian policy, claiming that Egypt has fooled them; [sentence indistinct]. Also it is no secret that those Israeli officials are very apprehensive of any Egyptian-Arab rapprochement because they have based their policy on the hope that alienation between Egypt and certain Arab regimes will continue.

While the Israeli officials are apprehensive of every Arab-Egyptian-U.S. rapprochement because they believe that such a rapprochement harms them at present and in the future and, at the same time, limits their strength and their activities, particularly since their strategy for many years, indeed since Israel was established, is that the State of Israel should be the only U.S. friend in the region, that Israel's interest, as a means of preserving Israel's security, should be above U.S. interests. It is also their strategy that in order to preserve Israel's existence the United States should sacrifice its own interests for the sake of Israeli interests. For this reason Israeli politicians believe that any Egyptian-U.S. rapprochement is tantamount to U.S.-Israeli alienation.

It was evident from the actions of the anti-Egyptian forces that support Israeli policy that President Mubarak's visit should be exploited in order to bring pressure to bear on Egypt in the interest of Israel, particularly since these forces realized that during this visit President Mubarak would ask for more aid and greater facilities. These people raised many issues in order to prove to the United States that Egypt no longer relies on the United States alone but that, in order to diversify its sources of arms, it is relying on the Eastern countries and that U.S. loans go into communist countries' treasuries. This is in addition to their allegation that Egyptian policy toward the United States is not a constant strategy but merely a temporary tactic and that Egypt will soon "lean" toward the East.

Those friends of Israel and opponents of the Egyptians resorted to certain maneuvers whose aim was to win the U.S. administration over to their side or, at least, to prevent President Mubarak from reaching a complete understanding with President Reagan and the U.S. administration. Moreover, some of the opportunists sought to exploit what they thought was a cloudy atmosphere and began preparing to bring pressure to bear on Egypt in the hope that it would adopt certain internal measures.

These people have overlooked established and clear facts of which they should have been well aware, namely that Egypt under President Husni Mubarak's leadership accepts pressure from nobody, neither internal or external pressure, whatever the means of such pressure may be. Egypt under Husni Mubarak's leadership is free and independent in making decisions; no power in the world, be it big or small, can ever restruct the freedom and independence of Egyptian decisionmaking. This is in addition to the fact that President Mubarak, who assumed the responsibility of leading the Arab people in Egypt 2 years ago, always refuses any encroachment on the independence of Egypt decisionmaking and any pressure from any side. The United States is the first to know this and appreciate it. We can say on the basis of reliable information available to us that the United States did not try to exert pressure on Egypt because it is aware that this method would be of no avail and that Egypt, under Mubarak's leadership, rejects any interference in Egyptian internal affairs.

My long observation of Israeli policy and the Arab-Israeli conflict shows that Israel and its supporters do not wish to benefit from the lessons of the past. They also do not want to change the antiquated and obsolete concepts which they have inherited and to which they adhere to the letter. In my view Israeli politicians grossly err when they believe that Egyptian-Arab relations can be severed; these relations might weaken for some time but they cannot be severed because they are relations of life, destiny, and fate. Arab disputes, even if they sometimes culminate in exchanges of fire, usually end suddenly in times of fateful crises. Thus the Israeli politicians and their supporters grossly err if they imagine that diplomatic relations between Egypt and another country could exist as a result of pressure by the other side or as a result of pressure by a third party. Diplomatic relations between countries are like human feelings among individuals; they can never be generated under pressure.

Those supporting Israeli policy in the United States have never ceased to create storms over Egyptian policy because of Egypt's relations with Israel. They have even gone to work actively and vigorously in another direction. Since the United States does not wish to subject its policy to Israeli interests, as was the case in the past, then at least those people could resort to arousing the United States over what they believe to be U.S. interests. For example, they raised the question of Ra's Banas and went on to harp on it in order to prove that Egyptian policy is hostile to U.S. policy and rejects a U.S. presence on Egyptian soil. All these people should have realized that it is not a question of Egyptian-U.S. relations or of purely U.S. interests. It is a question of a people's dignity and the Egyptian people's interests. Egypt, under President Mubarak's leadership, sticks to the decision it has taken with its national conscience and out of commitment to its people's



interests and independence and national sovereignty; it absolutely rejects foreign bases on its soil and under no circumstances accepts any form of foreign presence on its territory.

If one day Egypt agreed to help the Rapid Deployment force [RDF], this would be conditional upon the Arab or Islamic country concerned making a request for it. In this regard cooperation between Egypt and the United States is linked to a request by an Arab or Islamic side and not a request by the United States.

CSO: 4500/5

ABU GHAZALAH VIEWS MILITARY AFFAIRS, U.S. AID

PM071510 London ASH-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 6 Oct 83 p 2

[Interview with Marshal 'Abd al-Halim Abu Ghazalah, deputy prime minister and defense and war production minister, by ASH-SHARQ AL-AWSAT bureau in Cairo; date not given]

[Text] Question: With the imminent celebration of the October War, what is your visualization of the development in the past years in the Egyptian armed forces' combat capability?

Marshal Abu Ghazalah: After the 1973 war, planning in the armed forces was based on a short-term and a long-term plan. The whole plan was then revised in the light of the development of ties with the arms market in the countries with which we have good relations, like the United States, as well as the development of the military aid given to us.

Recently [we] have laid down a new 1982-1987 5-year plan to develop the armed forces. A 10-year plan has also been launched. It can be said that we are in a position today that is absolutely no less than our position when we entered the 1973 war.

Question: Have the Egyptian armed forces benefited from the stage of peace, and if so, how?

Marshal Abu Ghazalah: Of course the armed forces have benefited from the stage of peace in many fields.

First, the armed forces have had time to examine the experience of the previous war, so as to know the shortcomings and the advantages and thus develop the advantages and overcome the shortcomings. We have reorganized training and training methods and imported modern equipment that we needed.

Second, we are reorganizing the armed forces in order to deal with any confrontation in the future, because in 1973 the armed forces lacked mechanization and mobility to a great extent. We have largely overcome this shortcoming.

Question: During your U.S. visit you met with U.S. officials, particularly military officials. Certainly you had talks about Egyptian-U.S. relations in the armaments field. Is it possible to evaluate the outcome of these talks?

Marshal Abu Ghazalah: We concentrated on trying to increase the portion of aid given to Egypt as a grant. We insisted that all the aid being given should be a grant and not part grant, part loan. Last year the U.S. Congress and administration agreed to offer us \$1.325 billion as military aid--\$425 million in grant, and the rest as a loan to be repaid over 30 years, with a grace period of 10 years. This time we insisted that the aid given to us should be all grant. Of course, with regard to previous aid it is difficult to change its terms now. But we obtained a promise from Congress and the administration that from next year they will give us the \$1.325 billion entirely as a grant.

Question: Did not Egypt ask last year for the aid to be increased to \$1.7 billion?

Marshal Abu Ghazalah: We did indeed ask for the aid to be increased to \$1.7 billion, and we are still insisting on that increase in order to meet the increasing prices. But it is expected that they will give us only \$1.3 million [figure as published].

Question: Have the talks included studying the results of the U.S. Bright Star maneuvers in Egypt and how far the Egyptian forces benefited from them?

Marshal Abu Ghazalah: Of course. The evaluation of a maneuver takes place immediately after it is completed. Next week we will be conducting a joint maneuver with Britain, so that everybody will realize that holding maneuvers is in Egypt's higher interest and not in the interest of any other party.

Question: In what fields will the maneuver with Britain take place?

Marshal Abu Ghazalah: The maneuver will be in the naval field and will involve small land forces units. Any maneuver begins with the arrival of a team so that we can exchange ideas, discuss what is required of the maneuver, the lessons to be learned from it, and the fields in which we want our troops to exercise and the fields in which the other party wants its troops to exercise. We will then coordinate jointly and begin planning for the maneuver.

The planning for the Bright Star maneuvers was purely Egyptian. At every stage of the maneuver a review must be carried out, for a maneuver is continuous and divided into stages. At the end of it, committees are set up to evaluate it and to draw conclusions from it--to see our weak points and to learn about the U.S. strong points, so as to develop our training methods. When I went over there the question asked was whether the maneuver was successful. In fact it was successful, and indeed we benefited a lot from it.

It has been said that the maneuvers give the United States freedom of movement in activating its political and military strategy in the area. What is your comment?

Marshal Abu Ghazalah: These are rhetorical and meaningless words. No country has the ability to move freely unless it has sea and air transport. The United States does have those means. But such free movement cannot be realized except with the consent of the country whose territory such transport is to cross.

These joint maneuvers have nothing to do with freedom of movement or U.S. strategy. Unquestionably the U.S. side does benefit from training on Middle East territories. This is a precaution against anything happening in the Arab area which might compel it to intervene. In the event that it does intervene against a Soviet intervention, it is aid in the United States, that will mean World War III.

As far as we are concerned, we do not provide facility of movement for anybody. The question is: Why was the same not said when our forces went to Sudan or Oman and held exercises with the Omani army? Why were those exercises not said to give the Egyptian army freedom of movement in those areas? This is meaningless.

Question: Is it true that the Soviet Union has made the resumption of its relations with Egypt conditional on redrawing the framework of the U.S. forces' role within the multinational force in Sinai?

Marshal Abu Ghazalah: That is unfounded, and no discussion or dialogue has ever dealt with this subject. It is pointless to comment on it.

Question: Egyptian strategy in the area is definitely affected by what is happening in Chad, the Iraq-Iran war, and the events in Lebanon. What military role is Egypt playing in these events?

Marshal Abu Ghazalah: We always say that the Egyptian military's role is to secure and achieve Egyptian national security. We build up our forces in order to achieve deterrence and prevent aggression. We want Egyptian forces capable of facing any threat from any direction and destroying such a threat if it occurs.

This is our strategic objective--to build modern and sophisticated Egyptian military forces in which quality and not quantity counts.

We do not wish to commit aggression against anybody, but this is Egypt's adopted policy. Peace in the Middle East today is a national strategic objective. We want armed forces capable of deterrence, and to be so they must be strong, and everyone around us must be convinced of that capability and of our earnestness to use them when necessary.

Question: Do we have any forces in Chad, Iraq, or on the Sudanese-Chadian borders?

Marshal Abu Ghazalah: We do not have one single soldier in those areas.

Question: What happened with regard to the steps to achieve military integration with Sudan? How do you visualize the future in this regard?

Marshal Abu Ghazalah: There is no such thing as military integration with Sudan. The integration between the two countries--Egypt and Sudan--is the joint defense pact, under which we coordinate our reaction in the event that Sudan is the target of aggression. This, however, does not mean amalgamating the two armies to become one, as some people imagine.

Question: At a time when Egypt is calling for abandoning nuclear armament, Israel is tending toward bolstering its nuclear capability, which sometime in the future could serve its military strategy. What is Egypt's attitude to this potentially serious situation?

Marshal Abu Ghazalah: Israel still denies possessing nuclear weapons, though there are rumors that it has nuclear capability. We hope that this is not true. We demand that the Middle East be free of all nuclear weapons because, otherwise, we will be involved in nuclear warfare in the event of a worldwide clash. This would result in the destruction of the area and many other parts of the world.

There is still no 100-percent proof that Israel has nuclear arms. However, nuclear arms are not the only solution, and they do not frighten us.

Question: What about the well-known Dimona Reactor? Is this not proof that Israel has nuclear capability?

Marshal Abu Ghazalah: Anyone who wants to manufacture nuclear arms must carry out nuclear explosions; you cannot manufacture a nuclear bomb secretly. A nuclear test is necessary to prove the existence of nuclear weapons.

Question: What was the outcome of your recent talks in the PRC and the DPRK with regard to military cooperation between them and Egypt, particularly in the field of war production, especially the Chinese-built F-7 plane?

Marshal Abu Ghazalah: We actually have good cooperation in several fields and have had contracts with them for some time. From time to time we review these contracts and solve problems concerning them. The talks were very successful, but I will not disclose anything in their regard. The PRC and the DPRK had sent me invitations 2 years ago, and I responded to them recently.

Question: A few days ago U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger paid a brief visit to Egypt and you met him. What did you discuss during the meeting?

Marshal Abu Ghazalah: The U.S. defense secretary was on a visit to China and Pakistan en route to Italy. He informed me about the matters he resolved and those still pending during my recent U.S. visit.

Question: Is there anything new regarding Egypt's arms production?

Marshal Abu Ghazalah: We have succeeded in working a "retrograde engineering" [handasak 'Aksiyah] for some of the types of missiles we have, developing them and enhancing their capability. We have succeeded in manufacturing the SAM-7 missile, regarded the most technologically advanced in the world. We have developed it in accordance with the program laid down; some 10 days ago the first three missiles were fired successfully.

This is an essential stage in any project. A number of missiles must be launched before a prototype is accepted. This will be completed during this

month and in November a decision will be made on the acceptance of the prototype. Production in quantity will begin during the first quarter of 1984. On 5 October (yesterday) a firing exercise was carried out by the air defense force. We have also manufactured an Egyptian armored vehicle, which our Egyptian engineers and scientists built from A to Z. The vehicle has been successful and will be a "new revolution" in the manufacture of armored vehicles.

Thus we will have succeeded in manufacturing the missile and the vehicle which we have been planning for a year. Today we are working on the manufacture of a new tank and, God willing, we will have the Egyptian prototype ready by next October. We have also manufactured the 122mm gun for which President Mubarak inaugurated the factory. It is actually in production; the factory also produces the twin 23mm gun.

Question: The armed forces have been criticized because they carry out tasks that have nothing to do with their combat role. What is your comment?

Marshal Abu Ghazalah: Nobody has said that the armed forces involve themselves in projects that have no relation to their combat role. The Egyptian forces consist of units and formations which are divisions, armies, and so on. These units and formations bear no relation to such activities.

What has actually been established within the armed forces is an independent organ called the "National Service Organ." The aim of establishing this organ is to achieve self-sufficiency for the armed forces, because we have to be self-reliant like the other armies in East and West by providing our own requirements. This is because of the difficulties we find in the market, and the prices, as well as the difficulties we find with the contractors and suppliers. For this reason we have decided to achieve self-sufficiency and have engaged field units from outside the formations in this that have nothing to do with combat.

CSO: 4500/5

GOVERNMENT PARTY PAPER DEMANDS NPUG STATEMENT ON SOVIET BASES

Cairo MAYU in Arabic 15 Aug 83 p 11

[Article by 'Abdu Mubashir]

[Text] These who raise their voices clamoring and shouting on the pages of the newspaper AL-AHALI, what do they think about the one who demands permission for Soviet bases in Egypt?

What would they think if the one requesting this were a member of the National Progressive Unionist Grouping Party?

We are still seeking their opinion, even if this writer is one of their influential members and they are the ones who singled him out for positions of power so that he sits at the top of the party.

Do they think and does the leadership of the NPUG think that demanding Russian bases in Egypt is a patriotic act? Or do they think that the continuing, intentional, or unintentional silence concerning this demand is part of patriotic work and struggle?

Or does he have an opinion different from the one we mentioned?

If you believe that the demand for bases on Egyptian soil for the lords of the Kremlin is an unpatriotic act, then why did you not publish your opinion after you read the article by writer Lutfi al-Khuli in the October '68 issue of the magazine AL-TALI'AH. Al-Khuli was editor-in-chief at that time.

Or is clarification of your position as a faction difficult for you?

If it is difficult for you as a group, as a party or as a faction to publicize your opinion, then why did you not reject the matter as individuals since your word carried such weight in Egypt at that time?

Were you in need of someone to remind you of your role and what you should do?

Fine, with good intentions I imagined that you did not read Lutfi al-Khuli's article in which he demanded Soviet bases on Egyptian soil, since I know that you profess patriotism day and night. I recognized my duty of examining this article and this demand here in the pages of MAYU.

I published the first of two articles on 1 November 1982, and the second a week later on 8 November.

I demanded that the writer rectify his position or apologize for what he had written.

I said: Now, 15 years since Lutfi al-Khuli demanded the construction of Soviet bases in Egypt, is he still insisting upon the demand? If he is not, why does he not write an apology or at least a rectification? Or does the matter not warrant his doing so?

I also said: Lutfi al-Khuli is a reporter and a writer of Egyptian nationality and a member of the board of the journalists union, and a member of the secretariat general of the NPUG Party, and I don't know his other responsibilities. This should be done so as to not mix up affairs and so that his positions are not attributed to others as a result of their silence in the face of what he demanded.

Can we ever expect a clarification?

Until now, after the passage of 9 months, I have not read a clarification by the leadership, the writers, and the members of the NPUG and I don't know how long we must wait to read their clarification.

Simply put, do they agree with what Lutfi al-Khuli wrote or not? They are all Marxists and communist, and it is their right to write and demand what they wish--that's their right. They have their own political ideology and dogma. We agree with them or we disagree with them, but we cannot tell them what to write or what they should append to their writing.

However, as long as they are present on the Egyptian political scene, it is our right concerning them when we read an article by one of them who has a long history in the Egyptian communist movement, and who was a previous member of the communist organization "Haditu," and previous editor of the monthly communist magazine, presently a writer for AL-AHALI and for AL-AHRAM, an editorial article demanding permission for Soviet bases, to ask if that position represents the position of the communist and Marxists in Egypt?

And we should ask: Is this sort of demand patriotic or not?

If it is our right to question, then it is their duty to answer with the answer here, the answer to public opinion. I don't think that whoever raises his voice screaming patriotism, should deprive public opinion of an answer or of an announcement stating their opinion as it relates to Soviet bases in Egypt.

If they say that they do not concur with the writer and that this type of demand is not patriotic at all, if they said that, what is the next step, I wonder?

Would the high levels of the party meet and make decisions concerning the writer?



Would they freeze his membership for example?

Or would we see him separated from the party?

Or would they assign his case to an investigation committee?

The truth is, I cannot imagine any political party, especially one like the Egyptian Communist Party, willing to be dumbstruck in regards to a matter which relates to the sovereignty, freedom and independence of Egypt?

It is inconceivable that hundreds of thousands could have fallen victim while eliminating ancient and recent occupiers alike from Egyptian soil, and here comes a writer demanding that we willfully give bases to the Russians. Even if we give them nice generic names like "Joining Revolutionary Defense Centers."

It is inconceivable, furthermore, that a party such as the NPUC Party or for its leadership at its different levels to remain silent all of these past years or let's say during the last 9 months.

I do not think that the lords of the Kremlin would be angry with any position that you take either individually or as a group.

Of course they would be very pleased that a communist voice of Egyptian nationality would be demanding bases for them in Egypt, especially if that appeared on the pages of a magazine published by a national journalistic institution directed by a highly renowned journalist close to the powers that be.

The happiness of the lords of the Kremlin extended to a high peak and their forces spread over land and air bases on Egyptian expanses at the request of the ruler and as a response to pressure from them. The essential part is they planted themselves on Egyptian soil with the protection of these troops. You remember as do I, a voice rising from among you loudly defending the Soviets and all in their sphere.

Egypt breathed a sigh of relief when it was decided to expell them from Egypt. That was the elimination from Egypt of an occupying force consisting of 24,000 Soviet soldiers and also from the terrible pressure on political decision making and from a power which sullied Egyptian soil and sovereignty.

Egypt once again began to breath clean air when it was decided to close the air and sea facilities which had been granted to them and when the pact called the friendship treaty was nullified. The important part is not to be overly concerned with the reaction which Moscow will have about your stance toward this writer and this demand.

Also you must confront the problem with the same objectiveness with which some defend Moscow, the capital, the dogma, the creed and the policies. You must arm yourselves with the same courage with which you are armed when you are clinging with your fingernails to everything that is for the good of Egypt and Egyptians.

May God help you in this undertaking, if you were to have the courage of our forefathers....

And those of you who are crying out about patriotism, tell us your opinion in the case of the demand for Soviet bases in Egypt which was published by one of your leaders.

And tell us what you will do with the writer who is one of importance among you.

12390

CSO: 4504/582

## CURRENT OIL PRODUCTION, CONSUMPTION FIGURES DISCUSSED

Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic 22 Aug 83 pp 1, 10

[Article by Khalid Jabr]

[Text] Eng Ahmad 'Izz-al-Din Hilal, deputy prime minister and minister of petroleum, announced that nine new oil discoveries have been realized this year. He said that he will soon announce which ones are considered to be economically exploitable. Some of these discoveries are of natural gas. One of the finds is in the Western desert and the rest are in the area of the Gulf of Suez and the Red Sea.

The oil minister said that Egypt can achieve superior results in the oil sector despite difficulties which have beset the oil industry in general in oil producing countries during this year. This has led to a sharp reduction in the production of crude oil along with the reduction of its export price in the world market.

Despite that the oil sector has realized net surpluses in the balance of payments of 2,230,300,000 dollars. However if the value of the increase over planned local consumption of petroleum products (\$183 million) is added and the value of the difference of the oil products on hand (\$82 million), the surplus realized becomes 2,495,000,000 dollars or 100 percent of the average plan after the sharp drop in the export price in the world market.

Eng Ahmad 'Izz-al-Din Hilal added that Egypt's total production of crude oil and natural gas had reached 36.7 million tons, or 6.3 percent more than the prior year. The amounts of oil treated in Egyptian oil refineries reached 17.7 million tons or 13.7 percent more than the previous year. This was enough to satisfy increased local consumption of oil products, and this amounted to 17.8 million tons, or 15 percent more than the previous year. In addition it was enough to supply oil for the transport of the crude oil, natural gas, and petroleum products to points of distribution all over Egypt.

12390

CSO: 4504/582

UNION REPRESENTATIVE CRITICIZES GOVERNMENT RESTRICTIONS

Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI in Arabic No 760, 8 Aug 83 pp 12, 13

[Article by Layla 'Abd-al-Halim Shu'ayb: "The Socialist Prosecutor and Union Freedoms"]

[Text] People are unanimous in believing that political freedoms are important, and many political forces and papers demand that these freedoms be provided and that the restrictions suppressing them be eliminated, especially those limiting the freedom to form parties and freedom of expression and publication. These are no doubt necessary; however, these forces do not give union freedoms the degree of importance they deserve.

Union freedom means freedom for millions of workers (most of whom toil at hard labor) who bear the major burden of the noxious effects of reactionary policies, such as the rise in prices and the deterioration of the standard of living, whose own interests are closely linked to the national interest, and who also constitute a major sector of producers who realize and sense the effects and the problems that affect production and bring its level down. Therefore, union freedoms guarantee this important sector of citizens not just the right to defend their legitimate interest in a life of dignity but also make it possible for them to participate in the struggle for national independence and to discover the real reasons for the deterioration in production, especially the elements of corruption and bureaucracy and the means for overcoming those.

During the coming months, the workers' union movement will witness comprehensive general elections to choose representatives for the union structure at various levels for the 1983-87 union term.

These elections are being held as the union movement is being repressed by a series of laws which obstruct its activity and limit its effectiveness in playing the important role that has been case upon it.

The labor unions are the main instrument for the economic struggle to improve working conditions and alleviate the intensity of the exploitation imposed on workers. Not only that, it is the vessel in which workers acquire awareness of the importance of their social struggle and the importance of maintaining solidarity and closing ranks to defend their rights and interests.

Because of the importance the labor unions possess, the ruling authorities are afraid of them and mobilize their resources to deceive and terrify the workers and dominate their movement, using all means, including the media, to this end, to conceal the truth of the exploitation and spread about myths which allege that there is harmony between the interests of the workers and the interests of the people who exploit them.

It is natural that the means of confrontation should differ from country to country. However, they are consistent in terms of their basic goals, which have the objective, as far as capitalism goes, of imposing dominance and tutelage on the union movement and turning the labor unions into reactionary unions which are hostile to the workers, while, as far as the workers' true representatives go, they have the goal of independent union activity and true workers' representation which is capable of defending their interests and rights.

The union movement in our country has been subjected to an intensive attack by the authorities, as part of their attack on the democratic movement. A number of laws have been issued and directed against the democratic movement in general and the union movement in particular. Foremost of these was Law 33 for 1978 protecting the domestic front. Thanks to this law, the socialist prosecutor obtained the right to object to candidates in accordance with reports he receives from the security agencies.

At the beginning of the previous union term, 1979-83, the Ministry of Manpower submitted lists of candidates for labor union elections to the socialist prosecutor, although all other union organizations, foremost among them the Lawyers' Union, rejected this unconstitutional measure. The socialist prosecutor, in turn, objected to 57 candidates who were democratic citizens, most of them from the left. The reasons for his decision to object were almost the same with respect to all -- "the fact that they were well known for embracing the demands of the workers became an accusation, and as a result of it, the union members were prohibited from running in elections, and the union organization was ordered to relinquish its basic mission.

The candidates did not yield to this measure. Most of them contested the measures of removal from the candidates' lists with the administrative judiciary in the Council of State, which, in the case of most of them, issued rulings in their favor that the execution of their removal decrees be suspended.

Although these rulings were issued a day or two before the holding of the elections, the candidates entered the elections, and most of them managed to win the confidence of the workers and assume leadership positions on the boards of directors of union committees, thanks to their connection with their own constituencies and the workers' confidence in them.

In another attempt to impose further restrictions on the union movement, Law 95 for 1980 on impropriety was issued shifting the body with jurisdiction over protests against socialist prosecutor's decrees to the exceptional judiciary, as embodied in the courts of values, while the normal judiciary, the Council of State, had been ruling on these decrees, a right which the constitution has guaranteed to every citizen.

It is no secret to anyone that the issuance of these laws came in the wake of the events of January 1977 and the broad spontaneous uprising by the masses of people, foremost among them the working class, which followed them as a logical consequence or the deterioration in their living conditions, the regime's failure to cope with its economic crisis, and its initiative of signing the peace agreements with the Zionist enemy, which concluded with the Camp David agreements.

It is clear that the objective in these laws was and still is to prevent firm conscious honorable union personnel from playing their part and bearing their responsibility in the forefront of the masses of the working class vis-a-vis these conditions, so that the aberrant, the hypocrites and the corrupters of union life, and political life in general, could have free rein.

Events have perhaps confirmed the truth of that to us. The socialist prosecutor did not object to a single one of the names that stood out in the realm of corruption and illegitimate plunder when they were running as candidates for the powerful leadership positions they occupied, such as those in the People's Assembly and the ministries; rather, the objections were made only to people calling for freedom of opinion and people bravely defending the causes of the nation and the causes of the toiling masses.

The issue of interference in the freedom to run as a candidate or the freedom to vote now presents itself urgently to the democratic movement, for a number of reasons:

First, it reminds us of the courts of inspection that interfered with people's consciences, inner feelings and intentions; the law does not have the right to interfere in any way in candidates' beliefs; the law just governs tangible material activity.

Second, objecting to candidates because of their ideas, opinions or political affiliations is conduct contrary to the simplest human rights, and is a type of political isolation, because it prohibits some citizens from exercising their rights to engage in public activity just because their political opinions are at variance with the authorities. It contradicts the constitution, which has stipulated equality among all citizens in terms of rights and obligations.

Third, the elimination of candidates entails a disruption of agreements on union freedom which guarantee workers freedom from and freedom to choose their representatives themselves, without any interference from outside the union organization.

International Agreement 87 on Union Freedoms for 1948, Article Three, states the following: "Organizations of workers and employers have the right to prepare their own bills, charters and administrative rules, elect their representatives in total freedom, run their administrative organization and different aspects of their activity, and determine their programs. The public authorities will refrain from any interference which will have the effect of opposing this right or obstructing the legal exercise of it."

In addition, Arab Agreement Eight for 1977 regarding union freedoms and rights, in Article 14, contains the stipulation "The legislation of every country will guarantee noninterference in the nomination and election of union members."

Article 15 [states] "The legislation of every country will guarantee the freedom of every member to engage in union activity without interference by employers or any entity."

Finally, as we are on the threshold of the election campaign for labor unions, the national democratic forces must stand against this intervention with all available means. We have before us the brave stand of the masses of the workers, which has been the most eloquent response to these measures and the most eloquent rejection of them, with their insistence on electing the candidates to whom the socialist prosecutor had objected in the previous union term.

At its general assembly held in February 1980, the Egypt General Federation of Workers' Unions issued Recommendation Two of Subsection Five, stipulating "The effort to eliminate the provision contained in Law 33 for 1978 regarding the protection of the domestic front, which claims that the socialist prosecutor has the right to object to organizations, because that contradicts the principle of union freedom stipulated in International Agreement 87 for 1948 ratified by the Arab Republic of Egypt."

It then reaffirmed this in its session held in February 1983, and we have recently heard that a draft law has been presented to the current session of the People's Assembly to execute this recommendation. However, none of this came to anything, and this restriction remains a sword that is poised to threaten the union workers in their coming elections.

The Executive Committee of the Egypt General Federation of Workers' Unions must take a clear, explicit position. It must prohibit the submission of names of candidates to the new union session to the socialist prosecutor. More than 3 years have elapsed since the general assembly recommendation, but the authorities have not moved and have remained still, and the People's Assembly has recessed without the issuance of the law.

Is this in keeping with the power and importance the workers of Egypt possess?

Has the union organization in Egypt lost its prestige to this great an extent?

11887

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## OPPOSITION SPOKESMEN VENT OBJECTIONS TO NEW ELECTION LEGISLATION

London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic No 297, 1 Aug 83 pp 27, 28

[Article by Ahmad Abu al-Sa'ud: "The Opposition Supports Mubarak and Opposes the Ruling Party!]

[Text] Before its parliamentary session recessed, the Egyptian People's Assembly agreed to a modification in the proportion of votes in the law on elections, stipulating that a party had to get 8 percent of the votes in order to obtain seats in the People's Assembly. Before the assembly issued this decree, the political arena in Egypt had been going through a "heated" struggle, between the ruling National Party on the one hand and the three opposition parties, supported by independent nationalistic currents, on the other, over the system for holding future Assembly and the local assemblies before the end of this year. As regards the system for election to the People's Assembly, semiofficial circles in Cairo state that the assembly, in its recent decree, responded to President Mubarak's urging to lower the proportion of votes allowing a given party to obtain seats in the People's Assembly from 10 to 8 percent. While it was decided that the system of proportional lists should be followed in the People's Assembly elections, the government still insisted on holding elections to the Consultative Assembly and the local assemblies by the system of absolute lists.

The opposition, with its three parties, in conjunction with various currents, has opposed the elections that are to be held to the local assemblies and the Consultative Assembly — the elections the opposition parties have declared they will boycott. When the government's intention to follow the opposition circles declared that the philosophy of election systems was in integral whole and that it was not right to adopt the system of proportionate lists for People's Assembly elections and absolute lists for elections to the Consultative Assembly and the local assemblies.

The discussion of the system to follow in the elections in Egypt started about a year ago. When the ruling party's intention to hold elections by the system of party lists, on a basis of an absolute majority, became apparent, the opposition parties quickly declared their rejection of this system and demanded that the elections be held by the system of relative lists. Last December, the heads of the three opposition parties — the Grouping, Labor and the Liberals — sent President Husni Mubarak a memorandum containing a number of recommendations which they considered contained guarantees for holding fair elections, in which what had happened before the start of Mubarak's regime would not be repeated.



In their memorandum, the heads of the three opposition parties demanded that the lists of voters, which were prepared in 1956 and do not correspond to current reality, be corrected. They also demanded that each citizen present his family or personal identity card to the chairman of the election committee in each district, to confirm his identity before voting, that voters make notations on the voting cards by ink or ballpoint pen and not by pencil, and that the heads of the election committees be members of the judiciary and the office of the public prosecutor.

The memorandum by the heads of the three opposition parties stated that the system of election by districts, which was in effect from the first Egyptian parliament, in 1924, was the normal one, because it gave the citizens a chance to vote for people they knew and had confidence in from their own districts, while the system of election by party lists might contain persons unknown to the voters.

If the government insists on holding elections by the system of party lists, these lists must be relative, not absolute, that is, the list of each party must obtain a number of seats that is in keeping and appropriate with the number of votes the list obtains.

In addition to the foregoing, the memorandum by the heads of the opposition parties demanded that the elections be held in the context of a neutral cabinet headed by a senior member of the judiciary who at the same time would be in charge of the Ministry of the Interior.

This memorandum, as we previously pointed out, was submitted last December; the heads of the three parties were not talking specifically about the elections; the demands, rather, were general ones, rules for any elections, specifically the next People's Assembly elections in April of next year.

In the early part of this month, a republican decree was issued to hold supplementary elections to the Consultative Assembly and elections to the local assemblies throughout the republic.

The "struggle" began to get hotter. The opposition parties and most of the political forces in Egypt started thinking of means by which to confront the insistence of the ruling party, "the cabinet," on holding these elections in accordance with the system of party lists on a basis of absolute majority.

Before talking about the developments in the "struggle" between the two parties, the government and the opposition parties, one should point out that the system of absolute majority lists requires that each party submit a number of candidates equal to the number of basic and reserve seats in each governorate. If a party list is short of the number specified for each governorate by a single member, the whole list is eliminated and the voters cannot mark it. In addition, a party list which obtains more than 50 percent of the valid votes in the governorate will obtain all the seats in the governorate, and the remaining parties will not obtain any seats, even if the lists of any party obtains 49 percent of the votes! In addition, the list of each party must obtain at least 5 percent of the valid votes throughout the republic as a whole in order for its

list, which has obtained more than 50 percent in any single governorate, to win; that is, if the list of a given party obtains more than 50 percent in one or more given governorates, it will not win the governorate's seats unless the total votes that party's lists obtain throughout the republic are more than 5 percent of the total votes.

The opposition parties consider that this system contains a number of "arbitrary" conditions which will have the effect of keeping any party from getting any seats in the Consultative Assembly or local assembly elections. The opposition parties point out, in this regard, that governors, mayors, and village heads belong to the government party and consequently will all be among the most anxious to have ruling party lists in all governorates receive more than 50 percent of the valid votes.

At the beginning the opposition parties thought of effecting coordination among themselves in order to enter into a unified list on the basis of each party's influence in various electoral districts and areas, so that the parties and sympathizers of the three parties would support the candidate of any of the three parties and consider the elections to local assemblies and the supplementary Consultative Assembly elections tantamount to a field experiment for the coming parliamentary elections.

However, it appears that this idea came up against obstacles which could have been embodied in the inability of these three parties combined to present a unified list. The heads of the three parties, the Grouping, Labor and the Liberals, soon held a press conference in which they declared their decision to boycott the local assembly and Consultative Assembly elections if they were held on the basis of absolute lists.

This decision presented the National Party government with a political crisis, because the government's insistence on its position meant that the elections would take place in the form of a referendum on a single ruling party list.

Khalid Muhyi-al-Din, secretary general of the National Progressive Unionist Grouping Party, considers that the government, through its adamant stand, is trying to destroy the people's rights to fair elections, because elections by absolute lists are absolutely the worst system of elections, since they threaten a large proportion of the voters' votes and deprive the independents of the right to run as candidates, even though they represent important groups of people.

Ibrahim Shukri, chairman of the Labor Party, pointed out that the opposition parties aspired to correct many conditions, foremost among them public freedoms and the exercise of democracy. The head of the Labor Party stated that the opposition parties had waited for an initiative from President Mubarak and presented a memorandum containing minimum demands in December of last year. This memorandum was not announced, so that the president would have enough time to study and discuss it; however, the government is not giving any attention to the view of the opposition.

The opinion of Mustafa Kamil Murad, the chairman of the Liberal Party, did not differ from that of Khalid Muhyi-al-Din and Ibrahim Shukri, although the Liberal Party has had special experience, as it actually did enter the previous elections to the Consultative Assembly on the system of absolute lists. Mustafa Kamil Murad says that his party entered this experiment out of deference to al-Sadat,

"who wanted to turn us into a decorative trapping of democracy, although we have recently taken a stiff position on this sort of anti-democratic practice."

However, this stiff position, represented by the boycott of the elections, has not prevented Fu'ad Muhyi-al-Din, the prime minister, from sticking to the position of the government, that is, the ruling party.

In a recent statement, Dr Fu'ad Muhyi-al-Din declared that the Consultative Assembly elections were special ones for the renewal of half its members' terms, and that they would be held in the same manner as the elections of all the members of the assembly when it was formed, that is, the system of election by absolute lists.

Dr Muhyi-al-Din says that it is not possible to change this system because it is not possible, in practice, to elect half the members of the assembly in one way and the other half in another.

As regards the elections of members of local assemblies, Dr Muhyi-al-Din said that these assemblies were to be considered part of the executive system and that their members would be elected by absolute lists "as their law which is in effect stipulates."

Regarding the elections to the People's Assembly, we previously pointed out that the assembly has approved the system of election by proportionate lists and has imposed the condition that a party must obtain 8 percent of the total votes in order to obtain seats in parliament.

Finally, there remains the situation of the institution of the president and the opposition parties' position on it.

In this regard, Eng Ibrahim Shukri, the chairman of the opposition Socialist Labor Party, has reiterated the view of the opposition parties and the political forces that support them. In his latest statement, he declared that his party supported Mubarak as president but was opposed to the ruling National Party.

In the speech he gave last 20 July, on the anniversary of the July 1952 revolution, President Mubarak declared his urging, to which the People's Assembly responded, that the proportion be reduced from 10 to 8 percent, and expressed his hope that this step would be a good beginning along the road to deriving benefit from the experiment and evaluating it preparatory to applying it "in other areas."

Before President Mubarak's speech, the opposition parties were hoping that the president would take the initiative to resolve the matter regarding the issue of the election system. The opposition parties had been stressing the need to link democracy with the fight against corruption, and they had said that if President Mubarak began his regime with a declaration of war against corruption, then getting the opposition parties to participate in making decisions and in oversight would result in creating a healthy atmosphere and eliminating the negative features.

# CONFLICT IN COMMERCIAL UNION DESCRIBED

London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 17 Jul 83 p 6

[Article: "The Facts on the Incidents in the Union of Commercial Workers in Egypt: The Truth about the Union Struggle among National Party Members and Secrets on the Disputes between Investors and Employees"]

[Text] The decision of the Commercial Workers' Union board to cancel the results of the election for the position of union head, in which Dr Hasan Tawfiq, the chairman of the Central Organization and Management Agency, ran against Dr 'Abd-al-Razzaq 'Abd-al-Majid, the former deputy prime minister, and to hold these elections again the following September, was the direct if not the only reason for the emergence of the current rift in the Commercial Workers' Union at the start of the election campaign, which was embodied in the tumultuous general assembly session held recently.

When Dr Hijazi, who occupied the position of head of the Commercial Workers' Union for a period of 10 years without opposition, tried to explain this decision, he met with an intense attack from Dr Hasan Tawfiq's supporters, who interrupted his talk with hostile phrases and cries, and the meeting turned into a fistfight, leading to the interference of the police, who removed Dr Hijazi under guard.

The declared reason for this rift, which the Commercial Workers' Union witnessed for the first time since it was established, was the discovery of fraud in union head elections in al-Sharqiyah Governorate, where the election committee chairman printed about 1,000 election cards without permission from the union.

However, there are hidden reasons for the struggle going on between the supporters of the two candidates to the position of union head which might seem to be personal ones revolving about professional interests but also involve a political dimension.

Dr Hasan Tawfiq's electoral base is founded on the employees of the Central Agency and university professors, while Dr 'Abd-al-Razzaq 'Abd-al-Majid depends on major accountants, investors and private companies.

It is well known that Dr Hasan Tawfiq was the candidate of the National Party and the government, while Dr 'Abd-al-Razzaq 'Abd-al-Majid was supported by some

well known National Party members, headed by Eng 'Uthman Ahmad 'Uthman, the head of the Engineers' Union.

Since it is legally impossible for Dr 'Abd-al-'Aziz Hijazi to run for the position of union chief which he occupied for a period of 10 years, because the union law does not allow a single person more than that, it became apparent that an obvious struggle would appear for the position of union head, as there was a large vacancy left by the personality of Dr Hijazi as far as commercial workers were concerned.

Twenty members presented themselves for the union head post, but the contest focused on Dr Hasan Tawfiq and Dr 'Abd-al-Razzaq 'Abd-al-Majid.

The former is chairman of the Central Accounting Agency, which has several thousand commercial workers; he based his election campaign on his demand that the nature of work allowance be applied to commercial workers as it was to the members of the other unions, such as the doctors and engineers.

The latter was the architect of the most famous budget in Egypt, which he presented to the People's Assembly in 1980, insisting that there was no balance of payments deficits. The late President al-Sadat at that time gave him the nickname of "the Erhardt of Egypt."

His supporters are the owners of accounting firms, investors, Investment Authority employees, and people working in the Ministries of Economy and Finance, whose wages doubled when he was deputy prime minister.

#### The Policy of Continuing As in the Past

It was clear that most members of the old union board, especially Dr 'Abd-al-'Aziz Hijazi, supported Dr 'Abd-al-Razzaq, who wanted to continue the existing union policy of establishing banks and economic companies in coordination with the head of the Engineers' Union, 'Uthman Ahmad 'Uthman, who innovated the idea of the unions' entering into corporations and establishing their own banks.

The Union of Commercial Workers actually did establish the Commercial Workers' Bank and a number of economic companies in the period when Dr 'Abd-al-'Aziz Hijazi was union head.

However, Dr Hijazi totally denies that he supports either candidate against the other, and states "I was careful not to attend the elections from the beginning, lest any conduct on my part be interpreted as being in the interests of either of the candidates. I went on a trip to Saudi Arabia the first time, and, during the runoff, went to the Sudan and did not return until after the recent events. I told the general assembly, 'When I met the prime minister and minister of finance, he stressed that the government and the National Party had no candidates and did not support any candidate'."

#### What Happened?

Dr 'Abd-al-Razzaq obtained the most votes in the first elections, followed by Dr Hasan Tawfiq, then Dr al-Sayyid Hafiz 'Abd-al-Rahman. The runoff was held

between the first two, and a greater discrepancy in votes occurred; in the runoff the voting started peacefully, and buses came bringing Central Agency employees to cast their votes.

The events escalated in al-Sharqiyah, where Dr Ahmad Mahir 'Izz notified the police that there had been fraud, in favor of Dr Hasan Tawfiq, carried out by Mustafa al-A'sar, the chairman of the election committee in al-Sharqiyah, who had printed up 1,000 cards without getting the union's permission.

The boxes and lists of voters were retained by order of the office of the public prosecutor, whose deputy prosecutor supervised the vote-counting process. The complaint by Dr Ahmad Mahir 'Izz and Hassan 'Abdallah Hasan was registered administratively and the office of the prosecutor recorded that a violation had occurred in the printing of the cards.

### An Astonishing Surprise

However, the surprise lay in the fact that the number of people who had cast their votes in the runoffs in al-Sharqiyah came to 2,600, while they had not exceeded 360 the first time. Most of the 2,600 votes were for Dr Hasan Tawfiq, while Dr 'Abd-al-Razzaq 'Abd-al-Majid received just 26 votes.

There seemed to be something strange in the matter, especially since 1,200 members cast their votes in less than an hour, as the office of the public prosecutor established.

Mustafa al-A'sar, the chairman of the election committee who it was decided would be handed over to a disciplinary committee in the union, so he could be held to account, says, "The higher supervision committee gave me just 1,200 cards, and I asked for 2,500 at least, because there were 4,000 union members in al-Sharqiyah. The acting chairman of the committee, Dr Hasan Muhammad Hasan, promised that he would send me what I wanted before the elections, but he did not. On the day of the elections I felt that the turnout would be large and sent a delegate by car to Cairo to get the cards. At the same time, I contacted the union headquarters by phone but did not find anyone, and, when the cards they had given me were finished, at 1300 hours, I ordered that another 1,500 be printed, of which I received only 1,000. Those I stamped with the union seal and distributed among the committees. At 1600 hours the car came from Cairo, with just 300 cards.

"Dr 'Abd-al-Razzaq 'Abd-al-Majid's supporters presented a notice to the police against me stating that they had not been able to cast their votes, because there were no cards; when the cards were printed, they presented a notice against me again.

"The police officer took the boxes and lists of voters, and, when the deputy public prosecutor appeared, started the investigation, and decided that the injured party should be brought before the administrative judiciary."

Mustafa al-A'sar says, "The responsible party is the committee to supervise the elections and its chairman." He wonders about the reason why the chairman of the committee, 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Shadhili, traveled to Alexandria although he knew of the date of the election and left the committee to his deputy, Hasan Muhammad Hasan, who supports Dr 'Abd-al-Razzaq 'Abd-al-Majid.

Dr Hasan Tawfiq explains what happened by saying that the problem lay in the branch committees' failure to deliver as many election cards as there were voters, [stating] "Al-Sharqiyah has 5,000 members, and was given only 1,200 cards, after which 500 cards were delivered on election day, compelling the union head to print up 1,000 cards to cope with the voter turnout. Al-Sharqiyah is my original home, and they have been partial toward me, as Alexandria was partial to 'Abd-al-Razzaq 'Abd-al-Majid, because that is his town. The turnout increased when 'Abd-al-Razzaq's partisans presented a notice to the prosecutor's office."

Dr 'Abd-al-Razzaq 'Abd-al-Majid comments on what happened in al-Sharqiyah by stating "How can one believe that in al-Sharqiyah the number of votes in the first elections, which were a strong struggle among 20 contestants, was 360, and, in the runoff, these came to 2,600? This indicates that there was a disruption in the elections in al-Sharqiyah, the only governorate which asked for cards. Cairo received 15,000 cards but used only 2,200."

#### The Union Board Decision

The board of the Commercial Workers' Union declared the cancellation of the union head election results after the events of al-Sharqiyah. Dr Hasan Tawfiq obtained 8,013 votes, while Dr 'Abd-al-Razzaq 'Abd-al-Majid obtained 6,679, for a difference of 1,334. The union board faced three choices:

First, to cancel the results of the elections in al-Sharqiyah and disallow them, with Dr 'Abd-al-Razzaq winning by a majority of 1,509 votes.

Second, to hold the elections in al-Sharqiyah over and to hold its union head to account.

Third, to hold elections throughout the republic. This recommendation received 17 of 34 votes, while the recommendation to cancel the results in al-Sharqiyah and consider Dr 'Abd-al-Razzaq the winner received seven votes.

The general assembly meeting was then held to discuss the union's activity and accomplishments. The session turned into something approximating a stormy demonstration, and the people in attendance objected to the board's decision. Leading the opponents was Dr Sadiq 'Afifi, dean of the Faculty of Commerce of al-Minufiyah, who works as a consultant to the Central Agency which Hasan Tawfiq heads. The protestors interrupted Dr 'Abd-al-'Aziz Hijazi more than once with unseemly expressions and hostile cries, and the people in attendance got into fist fights, then fought with chairs. The police intervened to break up the skirmish and protect Dr Hijazi, and then 185 members met to decide to withdraw confidence from the board, approve the results of Hasan Tawfiq's victory and form a Central Agency committee to oversee the union accounts. They issued a statement which said:

"Upon the discussion of the budget and final accounts, the union head refused to give the floor to one of the members, and a dispute flared up over an error in the budget. The union head insisted that the member leave the hall, and, when the member refused, the head declared that he and the board members were withdrawing and that the general assembly meeting was being postponed to an undeclared time.

"The remaining members of the assembly stayed on, choosing three people, Dr Sidqi 'Afifi, dean of the Faculty of Commerce in al-Minufiyah, Salah al-Buhayri, a legal accountant, and Dr 'Ali Hilwah, professor at Hilwan University. The people in attendance totalled 185, and they decided that the general assembly should continue, to approve the election of Dr Hasan Tawfiq, withdraw confidence from the general union chairman and board, and form a temporary board to run the union by decree of the minister of finance. Until this decree was issued, a committee was formed to run the union consisting of Salah al-Buhayri, Dr 'Ali Hilwah, Dr Mansur Fahmi Taha, 'Abd-al-Wahhab Sa'd, Dr Mitwalli al-Sayyid, 'Isa 'Amir, and Muhammad Yasin. They also decided to present the matter to the minister of finance so that he could issue executive decrees for the general assembly's resolutions."

Union members are used to having election contests between two groups, a group representing the government and another representing the opposition, but the elections to the Commercial Workers' Union witnessed a new slant, since the two candidates were members of the government party, indeed occupied political positions in the ruling party. Why and how should one be preferred over the other? However, the fact remains that what happened in the general assembly is evidence of an absence of democratic practices in the union elections. There still is government intervention and assistance, from influence over the views of the employees through their supervisors to the provision of food and vehicles to encourage the greatest number to attend the elections.

However, the observation which ought to be recorded is that the fraud that took place in the commercial workers' elections, the first elections to be held after President Mubarak's declaration of his concern to hold upright, democratic elections in all organizations, shows that hidden hands are manipulating matters who have an interest in holding impartial, upright elections.

Dr 'Abd-al-'Aziz Hijazi says "We are a professional union with traditions which we must be concerned with, for the sake of the young generations which must learn democratic practices in union activity from us. What happened in the general assembly was prearranged in favor of a specific candidate, and we will hold the accounting with the people who did it which the law, the union law, stipulates. Through the report of the election committee headed by 'Abd-al-Rahman Shadhili, the former minister of supply, the board affirmed that excesses had occurred in the elections, which reached the point where cards were printed up, and the office of the prosecutor registered this incident. Therefore, it was necessary that we not allow a person to reach the position of union chief through falsified elections.

"We have presented the resolutions to the minister of finance, so that he can approve them or hand them over to the administrative judiciary to voice its opinion."

Hasan Tawfiq refuses to recognize the board's decision to hold the elections over, considers it void, and considers himself the lawful head of the Commercial Workers' Union. He wonders, why wasn't a decision taken to hold the elections over again in al-Sharqiyah only? The chairman of the Central Agency adds, "It is not wrong that I am a government employee. Everyone must know that the National Party, and the government, have done nothing to help me. I filed a suit with the administrative judiciary court to confirm my victory."



On the other side, Dr 'Abd-al-Razzaq 'Abd-al-Majid agrees with the board's resolutions cancelling the elections, and says "I will turn to the administrative judiciary to appoint me union head, supporting myself with the fact that I obtained the majority of the votes in the other governorates, apart from the Governorate of al-Sharqiyah." It might be useful to review the views of the young people in the Commercial Workers' Union to explain the real nature of the struggle the union has witnessed for the first time.

One young union member says, "Although our union is removed from politics and is not a union of opinions, like the Lawyers' or Journalists' Unions, the government and the National Party wanted to interfere in the elections and impose a union head on us who belonged to them. Unfortunately, the two persons with doctors' degrees who obtained the most votes are members of the National Party and have no conflict with it. It was clear that the government supported Dr Hasan Tawfiq, and that a number of violations occurred in the elections, since 89 ballots made out to Hasan Tawfiq were discovered in the bathroom. In addition, there were the pressures to which the employees and university professors have been subjected. In addition, Dr 'Abd-al-Razzaq 'Abd-al-Majid had his National Party devotees, especially the proprietors of accounting firms and major investors, who consider that he is able to run things better."

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## KABBAJ DISCUSSES NATION'S EFFORT TO EQUIP ITSELF

Casablanca MAROC SOIR in French 13 Sep 83 pp 2-3

[Mohamed Kabbaj's interview given to FRANCE-PAYS ARABES magazine]

[Text] A tremendous effort to build up Morocco's equipment for the year 2000: 57,634 kilometers of roads (15,000 kilometers in 1956); 22 dams in 1983 (12 in 1956); 720 million cubic meters of water (80 million in 1956); and 37,360,000 tons of merchandise handled by ports (11,600,000 tons in 1956).

Why A Ministry Of Equipment?

[Question] It is only recently that Morocco created a Ministry of Equipment. How does it assess itself today?

[Answer] The creation of the Ministry of Equipment is actually not that recent. As you know, the present duties of the Ministry of Equipment were handled in the past by the Ministry of Public Works and Communications. This last department, which had widespread duties, led to the establishment in 1977 of the Ministry of Equipment and National Development and the Ministry of Transportation.

In 1981, the duties of the Ministry of Equipment and National Development were somewhat amended and national development came under the Ministry of Labor. The Ministry of Equipment was therefore created in 1981.

Nonetheless, the Ministry of Equipment retained the administrative structures already extant when the Ministry of Public Works and Communications was a separate ministry; this applies to roads, ports and hydraulic sectors and public equipment.

The Ministry of Equipment therefore inherited administrative structures which were already in place under the Ministry of Public Works and Communications.

These structures are proving to be increasingly unsuitable to meet the responsibility of the Ministry of Equipment.

Ever since the new department was created, our aim has been to give it administrative structures consistent with the services it must perform.

Thus, the structures of both central and regional services were the subject of a thorough reorganization which led to a redefinition of the tasks and a better use of the personnel.

Concurrently with this reorganization, the effort centered on the need of improving the management of the infrastructures for which the Ministry of Equipment is responsible on the one hand and, to pursue a policy of selecting the equipment in order better to answer the needs of the populations at a lower cost, on the other.

Furthermore, the Ministry of Equipment is undertaking an extensive program aimed at offering a permanent cadre training program such as to retain them in both the technical and administrative areas.

Finally, aware of the role played by the research bureaus and the enterprises in the development of a country, the Ministry of Equipment launched a large-scale operation aimed at organizing these two factors for a harmonious development and, accordingly, lessen our dependency on foreigners in that domain.

As you were able to tell by what has just been discussed, since we took over this department, we have given priority to the reorganization of its internal structures as well as to the reorganization of the professions for which we are responsible and with which we are closely associated.

This, however, should not in any way relegate to second place the physical facilities handled by the Ministry of Equipment.

#### Great Effort To Equip

[Question] According to many observers, Morocco is one of the African countries which is making a great effort to equip itself and it has been doing so for several years. Was that one of the reasons which prompted the creation of such a ministry?

[Answer] As you have pointed out, Morocco is a country which is making a great effort in the area of equipment and it has been doing so ever since the independence, due to the fact that the existing equipment at that time did not meet the social and economic needs of the country.

Take for example the following sectors:

- a) The road network: On the eve of the independence all that Morocco, which covers an area of 710,000 square kilometers, had was a very rudimentary road network 15,000 kilometer long, compared to 57,634 kilometers in 1983;
- b) the harnessing of surface waters covered only 10 percent of our potential through the operation of 12 dams only two of which were used for agricultural purposes, whereas it has now reached 50 percent through the building of 22 other dams;
- c) drinking water supplies did not exceed 80 million cubic meters in 1956, available only to a few privilege communities, as compared to 720 million cubic meters in 1983 or a ninefold increase over 1956.

d) ports: approximately 37,360,000 tons were handled in 1982 as compared to barely 11,660,000 tons in 1956.

All the sectors were generally affected by this effort made not only to modernize our equipment badly in need of updating, but also to adapt it to our development needs.

Let us specify, however, that this was achieved not only by either technical ministries with the proper structures at their disposal with which to carry out the tasks entrusted to them, but also by ministries which had neither the necessary structures nor the means to do so. The creation of the Ministry of Equipment made it possible to bridge this gap to the extent that, ever since then, the non-technical ministries have been able to turn over to the Ministry of Equipment the implementation of the projects entrusted to them.

#### The Fixed Link Project Through The Strait

[Question] The Fixed Link Project has come a long way. How did this idea to link Africa and Europe come about?

[Answer] The idea of implementing the Europe-Africa Fixed Link Project through the Strait of Gibraltar dates back to the last century judging by a 1869 study. It was not really taken up again until the June 1979 historical meeting between King Hassan II and King Juan Carlos I in Fez.

This meeting resulted in the signing of a technical cooperation agreement between the Moroccan and Spanish governments, creating a Joint Coordinating Committee in charge of drawing up study programs, and two companies, Moroccan and Spanish, entrusted with implementing the studies.

[Question] What is expected of the Joint Committee?

[Answer] The program of the Joint Committee includes physical surveys and technical and economic studies as well as the promotion of the project on the national and international levels.

The study program has five stages. The "Diagnostic Study" is the first. It was completed in March 1982 and gathered all available data in the various relevant sectors.

[Question] People often wonder whether a bridge or a tunnel will be chosen?

[Answer] The answer is partially supplied by the second "Preliminary Feasibility Study." It was started in March 1982 and completed in May 1983. During this stage, several physical surveys were made in the strait and the two coasts. They made it possible to draw topographic, geological and bathymetric maps and to gather geophysical, seismic and meteorological data.

These surveys were used to complete the preliminary technical studies of the solutions proposed for crossing the Strait of Gibraltar.

The results of this analysis show that three solutions will be subjected to a more thorough examination. They involve an anchored bridge, a floating-anchor bridge and a tunnel.

[Question] How will the decision be taken?

[Answer] It is the last stage which will supply interesting and precise data. The feasibility study will begin sometimes in 1983 and it will deal with a thorough technical and economic analysis of the adopted solutions and the implementation of a physical survey program for drawing up detailed topographical, geological and bathymetric maps and the gathering of specific data in the various sectors of the project.

[Question] What was the reaction of the international organizations?

[Answer] From the promotion standpoint, the project received the approval of the international community. It was inscribed in the UN Ten-Year Transportation Program for Africa. At the United Nations also, the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) adopted a resolution which was approved by the General Assembly during the December 1982 session. This resolution deals with the benefit of linking two continents with a fixed link through the Strait of Gibraltar and the two organizations, ECA-U.N. and EEC-U.N., were invited to formulate for the second ECOSOC session in July 1983 a memorandum and an evaluation of the studies currently available concerning such a link. In order to implement this resolution, a group of UN experts went to Rabat, then Madrid in March 1983 to evaluate the project. Their findings were synthesized in a report prepared by the directors of the UN Transport for Africa and for Europe. As a matter of fact, the later just met in Rabat on 19 May 1983 with the members of the Joint Committee to whom they gave a brief report on their conclusions, a report which appears favorable to the project.

The fifth African Roads Conference adopted a resolution requesting the creation of an organization entrusted with building the Lagos-Tangier-Europe axis under the sponsorship of the ECA/U.N. and of an organization entrusted with the Fixed Link through the Strait of Gibraltar under the sponsorship of ECA and EEC.

A seminar on transportation in the Western Mediterranean region will be organized by the EEC and the ECA in Barcelona in July 1983. This seminar will deal with the various types of transportation in the Mediterranean countries and the links between the two coasts and it will include the transportation of African natural gas to Europe.

[Question] Has the project a deadline?

[Answer] You see, for this type of work, it is difficult to set a precise completion date for the project. The completion deadline depends on several factors such as, for example, investigations on site, the choice of solutions, etc.

I can, however, give you a rough idea: the fixed link will be ready by the year 2000.

[Question] What would be the repercussions on Europe, Africa and Morocco?

[Answer] It would be difficult to determine all the repercussions of the project on Africa and Europe. We can, however, list a few:

The restructuring of the transportation network, especially in Africa, where such networks are still embryonic, and in Southern Europe, especially the Pyrénées passes and the South of Spain.

Secondly, the development of tourist and economic exchanges between Africa and Europe, on the one hand, and inter-African trade on the other, owing to the restructuring of the transportation networks ending on either side of the Strait of Gibraltar. The restructuring of transportation networks in Africa would be an important access factor for inland countries and trade development among African states.

The repercussions of the project in Morocco would be tremendous in terms of the development of the national transportation network through the whole country and of the hotel infrastructure needed to meet increased tourist activities.

A Plan for Building Up the Morocco of the Year 2000

[Question] Will there be a revision?

[Answer] The sectorial investments, the implementation of which had been entrusted to the Ministry of Equipment as part of the 1981-1985 plan, amounted to 15.9 billion DH [dirhams] (a 1980 figure) or 23 percent of the plan's credits reserved for the country's equipment programs. This plan is a voluntarist plan as to its goals. It is only part of the ambitious program begun by our country for the building up of the Morocco of the year 2000.

It should be specified that two types of projects were retained during its formulation: On the one hand, state financed projects; on the other, so-called "optional" projects based on outside financing.

The latter implies some readjustments based on outside financing raised for Morocco.

The plan is not being challenged and its formulation continues. The format and goals are retained because they derive from the will of the people and the results of preliminary studies. The launching of the projects, however, must be such as to coordinate the financing with the rate of their implementation.

A plan is never implemented 100 percent and some credit drifts can be effective for projects the implementation of which is spread over several years. In any case, the profit-earning potential criterium is becoming increasingly important in our project planning.

Since our plan is "flexible" and not "static," a reprogramming of the credits is done within the framework of each annual appropriation bill, taking into account the economic justification for each operation.

## Future Projects

[Question] Morocco is a country equipping itself. What are the main accomplishments in this domain? How is this effort influencing the country's economy?

[Answer] The Ministry of Equipment is responsible for the study, implementation and management of Morocco's basic infrastructures in the areas of roads, port hydraulic installations, drinking water and public works. Large-scale equipment projects have been implemented and others are underway in these sectors.

Roads: Our country has a 57,614-kilometer long road network, 26,000 kilometers of which paved. Activities in that sector are mainly aimed at maintaining this legacy, opening remote areas and improving road safety. The first 40-kilometer long section of the Casablanca-Rabat highway is one of the main achievements, along with the 14-kilometer long urban Casablanca highway.

The port sector has been extremely active ever since two very important ports recently began operations, one on the Mediterranean coast and the other on the Atlantic in Jorf Lasfar. Furthermore, the oil port of Mohammedia is expanding and will be able to handle 100,000-ton ships. In the framework of the development of our Saharan provinces, the port installations in Laayoun and Sidi Itni are under construction.

As to the hydraulic power and drinking water sectors, a great effort has been made to harness surface waters and possible ground water. Many works such as dams, wells and stations were built making it possible to exploit the waters for agriculture and energy and for drinking water for the towns. The main hydraulic achievements involve supplying water to the town of Tangier (the Ibn Batouta dam); irrigation of and flood control for the Loukkos area (the Oued el Makhazine dam); and the Al Massira dam for irrigation and for supplying drinking water to the coastal region between Casablanca and Safi.

These large hydraulic works are part of the plan to irrigate 1,000,000 hectares with surface waters and to increase hydroelectric power.

Surface water resources are being used at 50 percent of capacity.

Finally, concerning the drinking water supply sector, let us add that the goal is to ensure for the future a supply of drinking water to the population. To that end, and in the framework of the current five-year period, plans call for the following:

The installation of capacities for tapping an additional 20 cubic meters per second of water to meet the needs of all centers and towns in the kingdom by 1987-1990;

improving the tapping rate in urban centers by raising it from 44 to 64 percent;

raising the daily per capita consumption to 210 liters per day in the large towns and 100 liters per day in the medium-sized and small towns.

The ministry is also building public facilities such as schools, hospitals, etc. The Rabat sports complex, which is nearing completion, includes a 60,000-seat olympic stadium and a sports palace of 8,000 seats as well as many related facilities.

The ministry also ascribes great importance to cadre training. The various training centers for technical assistants and construction foremen as well as the Hassania Engineering School trained the following in public works and electricity: 760 engineers, 1,282 technical assistants and 8,148 construction foremen.

This brief survey of equipment projects completed in our country shows the importance of this sector of economic activity as much through the number of jobs created as the establishment of industrial complexes.

#### Moroccan-French Cooperation

[Question] What is the state of Moroccan-French cooperation in the equipment sector?

[Answer] As you know, France is the prime commercial partner of our country as it accounts for 25 percent of our exports and 24.8 percent of our imports.

This cooperation hinges on three factors in the matter of equipment:

First, taking into account the cultural and technical ties with France, an important program of aid and technical exchanges has been in effect for several years in sectors such as roads, hydraulics and engineer training. In that context, France provides annually to our ministry 70 expert missions, 20 cooperative agents, 6 monthly training sessions and 10 scholarships;

second, financial cooperation in granting loans for the implementation of projects or the acquisition of materials such as tugboats or motor boats;

third, the participation of French companies in the implementation of large-scale equipment projects such as the Al Massira and Ait Chouarit dams and Jorf Lasfar port.

I believe that, taking into account the important equipment program we have launched as part of the 1981-1985 plan, this cooperation will increase even more.

#### Important Cooperation Between Morocco and the Arab Countries in the Matter of Equipment

[Question] What about the Arab countries?

[Answer] Such cooperation in the matter of equipment results in the steady trade which we have with our colleagues in other Arab countries.

Let me mention as an example the large-scale program begun with our Tunisian counterparts, which includes the exchange of cadres and technology and joint studies. This program should lead to the development of technology suitable for the Maghreb and ensure the complementing of our potentials in the matter of equipment.

Another element of this cooperation is the participation of Arab countries in the implementation of the large-scale equipment projects in Morocco, since these countries or their organizations have accounted for 38 percent of the foreign financing of our equipment projects since 1976 (or 2.531 million DH).

Finally, we should point out that many Moroccan construction and public works companies participate in the implementation of equipment projects in Arab countries, especially in Saudi Arabia and Iraq.



## MZALI PRAISED; OPPOSITION DISPARAGED

London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic No 294, 11 Jul 83 p 21

[Article by Hasunah al-Misbahi: "The Tunisian Opposition Movements Are Displaying Their Wash."]

[Text] With the exit of Mansour Moalla and Tahar Belkhodja from the government formed in the aftermath of the events of January 1980, Mr Mohamed Mzali, the prime minister of Tunisia, has replied to those who say in secret and in public that he is "unable to grasp the reins of affairs." He has also gained greater trust from the head of state, which will enable him to maneuver with the greatest freedom. Those who criticize Mr Mohamad Mzali and accuse him of weakness--be they inside or outside the party--forget or ignore that he took over the reins of power during one of the most difficult periods in the history of Tunisia since independence, following some very intense crises which led to the shedding of blood and the building up of hatred to such a degree that some political observers were imagining that Tunisia would fall into the abyss of civil war, the plague which has destroyed and laid waste a large number of countries in the Third World.

Mr Mohamed Mzali may have moved slowly, and he may have made mistakes, as all politicians, but the period of his rule, which by now has lasted 3 years, is considered positive overall, since it allowed the country to overcome the difficulties which almost brought disaster down upon it. Mr Mohamed Mzali is a cultured man familiar with both western and Arab culture. On taking over the prime ministry in Tunisia, he was able to understand that his country could not live by numbers, that its people needed someone who would understand their daily troubles and work to lighten the burden of their sufferings. He had a clear, positive vision of how to build a truly new society. The first thing Mr Mohamed Mzali did was to take another look at the "semi-society" of the Tunisian General Labor Federation (UGTT). He then allowed both the secret and the public opposition to express their views freely. He allowed them to speak from the pulpits and defend their point of view in the cultural clubs, the trade federations and the unions. There are now numerous associations engaging in a great deal of activity which could not do so before: the Association of Young Lawyers, the Association of Young Judges, and the Human Rights Association. As for the cultural currents, Mr Mohamed Mzali has shown them a concern they had not known before. The number of cultural supplements in the magazines and newspapers has increased, and today the young people who

had no way to express their views or publish their work have more freedom to enjoy. All in all, we can say that Mr Mohamed Mzali opened many doors which were previously closed, allowing those who had difficulty breathing to breathe deeply. However, we must not forget that there are difficulties which make it hard for him to achieve the legitimate desires of the man in the street. Tunisian society contains many contradictions, and various conflicts rage within it. Within the ruling party are those who resist Mr Mohamed Mzali out of selfishness, or because they have a narrow, "bureaucratic" view of things. Or then again, they may yearn to return to the "time of violence and oppression." In addition to all this, we cannot forget that Tunisia's "isolation" has ended during Mr Mohamed Mzali's time in office. The country has opened up to the Arab North Africa, the Arab Nation, Africa and the Third World in general. This proves that Tunisia has become aware that it is linked to all these groupings, without which it cannot realize its economic and cultural development.

It is saddening that most of the opposition movements do not see and support all these positive aspects. In other words, up until now they have not defended those who deserve to be defended and have not helped those who deserve help. They amount to a spectator opposition.

The Tunisian opposition, which undoubtedly has known pain and cruelty must understand that the flow of history does not always agree with personal desires, or even with communal ones. It is a slow movement governed by special laws. Therefore, the opposition must understand all this very well, comprehending that part of reality which is hidden and covered, lest it fall into total nothingness.

In the face of this situation, it seems that the opposition movements are now kept busy by fighting among themselves. The Communist Party, which was legitimized in 1981, and the Movement of Socialist Democrats (MDS), which may be legitimized this summer, are now trying to move in a common direction. They support the faction which sides with them and helps them practice their right of expression. There are also some pan-Arabists and Marxists who think it necessary to support Mr Mohamed Mzali's government and the "positive steps in the direction of democracy" which it has taken.

As for the Communist Party (Seventh Congress), which is represented by a university professor resident in Paris and some students, the extremist Marxists, the Muslim Brothers and some other pan-Arab movements, they consider the current period a continuation of the last one. They think that Mr Mohamed Mzali differs not at all from his predecessors, and that the opposition movements which agree to enter into "the game" should be considered "traitors to the nationalist struggle." Naturally, some forces shout traditional slogans. They are the forces which have become accustomed to seeing only the color black. Because they offer no clear cultural, social, economic or political program, they cannot make their presence felt unless they curse others, and focus on their negative aspects. It is strange to meet among them some who proclaim "secularism" and base what they say on "the scientific analysis of history and society." As for the Popular Unity Movement headed by Ahmed Ben Salah,

it represents a special shade of opposition. If we want to evaluate it, we have to consider Mr Ahmed Ben Salah's past, personal experience of government, and knowledge of the inner workings of the political and administrative apparatus of the Tunisian state. In a statement issued by the movement in the middle of last month on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of its founding, it sharply criticized Mr Mohamed Mzali's term of office, saying it had been "negative overall." The movement also attacked those who "play the regime's game" and help to "frustrate the democratic struggle." We can say that if the Movement of Socialist Democrats gets its certification, as it is expected to do this summer, then the struggles going on between the various opposition movements will deepen and increase in intensity. Naturally, such struggles are of no value. They are simply a way of settling accounts. They do not arise from an objective evaluation of the situation and the requirements of immediate reality. It is those who will try to fan the fires of these conflicts who want to divide and weaken the token opposition of their benefit. The people noticed that they changed their manner of speaking a little in the past and began to use words like "democracy," "basic freedoms," and "the building of a new society" a lot. They are words which belong to the dictionary of the Marxist and pan-Arab left, but also to that of the democratic faction within the party.

12224

CSO: 4504/512

## CRISIS IN AGRICULTURAL INDUSTRY DISCUSSED

Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR in Hebrew 19 Aug 83 pp 4, 12

[Interview with Prof Shmu'el Pohorilis, planning authority director in the Ministry of Agriculture, by Yosef Galili]

[Text] Much has been written about the crisis in the family moshav economy. Is it a circumstantial or structural crisis? Has planning foreseen the crisis which is being visited upon agriculture? How can the family economy extricate itself from difficulties? What is the effect of government policy (Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Agriculture) on the situation of those moshavim in trouble in the Negev, the Arava, Lachish, and the rest of the country? We posed these and other questions to Prof Shmuel Pohorilis, who is director of the Planning Authority, which for years has formulated the planning policy of the Ministry of Agriculture.

Moshav Nogah, in the Lachish district, is an example of a family moshav economy which is structurally damaged. This is what Pohorilis says, and he adds that according to a special survey conducted by the Planning Authority, 27 percent of the moshav economies cannot be rehabilitated. The survey studied moshavim in trouble agrotechnically, organizationally, financially, and socially.

There are several reasons for the crisis occurring in the moshavim. First, the structural reason. These farms were set up more than 30 years ago, on a technological basis expressed by the horse and plow. Mechanization was just beginning. Factors of production were divided, in accordance with the technology of the time, according to three principles: self labor, equality of income and mutual collaboration. In the course of time, a substantive change developed in the three principles: the principle of self labor suffered the most. Forty percent of the farms employ hired laborers, most of them Arabs. Socio-economic polarization became most marked. Already in the late 1970's, 26 percent of the family moshavim used 60 percent of the land, 60 percent of the water, produced 75 percent of the output, and received 78 percent of the total income. The polarization was based on a formal transfer, which was illegal, of the means of production from the farmer to someone else -- from the farmer working on the outside to the farmer working on the moshav. The polarization was expressed in the fact that 27 percent of the moshav members took 78 percent of the income, while 74 percent of the members received only 22 percent.

Additional reasons for the socio-economic polarization and gap in the moshav were listed by Prof Pohorilis: a low organizational social level, ineffective economic and financial management; a challenge to the principle of collaboration by the neglect of the principles of the group; lack of guidance (by moshav institutions). All of these, in addition to the defective structure, led to a severe crisis for the weaker segment of the family moshavim.

"The problem has become worse in recent years. The Treasury froze the flow of state money which the moshavim had regularly received." State aid to the family enterprise whose debt, over the years, had been linked to the flow of government funds, was frozen, as a result of far reaching changes in credit, especially in the local market," Prof Pohorilis explains, and he adds that under the influence of a distorted currency policy, in terms of the dollar-shekel relation, a large "hole" was created in the return to the farmer. The rate insurance, which was imposed in agriculture, was unable to compensate and cover it. In addition, no clear agricultural policy was developed, and the government did not express its opinion on the condition of agriculture. All of these things came together, and caused a crisis which broke out in full force.

The planners were obliged to make a revision and halt the deterioration. None of the factors involved in the matter nor those responsible for the situation dared to approach a basic and substantive reform of the matter. Prof Pohorilis showed me an article which he had published in DAVAR on 13 June 1975, in which he warned of the fact that those who determined agricultural policy did not have the power to deal with the issue in a practical and fundamental way.

According to Prof Pohorilis, the rehabilitation of moshavim in difficulty cannot be accomplished by a cash input. Anyone who thinks so creates an illusion whose results are a waste of national resources as well as the perpetuation of the present situation. The rehabilitation of agriculture in the family moshav is conditioned on a structural change, in that sector of the economy which has been so damaged. It will be achieved by professional retraining of those persons who are not suited for agriculture.

Fifty percent of those persons living in moshavim which have been seriously damaged are concentrated in areas near urban centers. In the course of time, these persons have been diverted vocationally. This has caused their standard of living to be conditioned only partially on agriculture. Reference is to the areas such as Hadera, Ra'anana, and Rehovot. The rest are spread throughout the country.

No one today disputes the fact that agriculture is a national value with positive ramifications on the rest of society. It is no accident that Zionist thought treated agriculture as a national value also from the point of view of the rectifying of the pyramid, which was called for because of the distortions which had occurred in the productive structure of the Jewish people in the Diaspora.

From the experience which Prof Pohorilis has accumulated at international forums in which he has participated, it is apparent that the industrialized and developed nations view Israeli agriculture as a kind of instructive prototype, which is a challenge to them. They particularly view Israeli agriculture as an anti-Malthusian phenomenon. (The population develops at a geometric rate, in contrast to production which develops at an arithmetic rate. The gap between the two rates of development

creates an organic reason for the inability of the agricultural economy to supply food for the whole population.)

Israel has proven that it is possible to develop agriculture in an arid and semi-arid region. This agriculture supplies the food for the whole population, and creates substantial surpluses for export.

Since the War of Independence, the population in Israel has grown 6.5 times agricultural production. In real terms, production has grown by 12 times. Prof Pohorilis argues that the government must not damage the image of our agriculture, which is a leader in many areas of agriculture in the world economy, in spite of difficulties of the past few years. It is a unique contribution of Israel to international development, a contribution which has won the respect and appreciation of even those who are not counted among our sympathizers. Therefore, it has enormous importance for the future of Israeli society.

In Israel there has been added to this security considerations, for protecting the borders of the country and making its deserts bloom. In these areas, the importance of agriculture in Israel has not atrophied. It is a mistake to think that the importance of an economic branch is measured in terms of its proportion of the GNP and employment. Even though the share of agriculture in these two areas is significant, one would not claim that since electricity is only 2 percent of the GNP, that this branch of the economy has no importance in terms of its priority in economic and national considerations.

Today, agriculture is not receiving the kind of support that it did in the past. It is also not achieving the real value of the product which it produces, because of the exchange rate and distorted monetary policy. As a result of this, agriculture in the Common Market, in the U.S., in Canada, and in Australia is receiving more support than agriculture in Israel.

It is generally thought that agriculture is the perverse daughter of nature and the beloved daughter of governments. The truth is that agriculture is no longer the perverse daughter of nature, because of progress in science and technology, and it is also no longer the beloved daughter of the government.

The weak moshav economy has been further damaged because of the policies of subsidies, capital, and inflation in addition to external blows which are the result of the situation in the world economy. Particularly because of this, intervention by the government is necessary to create an alternative. Prof Pohorilis maintains that one of the important social problems in Israeli agriculture is the proper understanding of demographic processes which are occurring in agriculture, especially in the moshav economy of the family. In contrast to the European countries, the Israeli government has not paid attention to it. It has no policy for incentive for changes, and for the infusion of new blood in agriculture -- things which characterize the "Mansholt program". Fifteen years ago, this contributed a lot to the Common Market countries, for making agriculture more efficient, and for the economic diversion of those who found no place in that sector.

In dealing with the two clear components which have been formed in Israeli agriculture, Prof Pohorilis distinguished between the agricultural economy which carries itself, which includes most of the kibbutzim, 30 percent of moshav agriculture, and 80

percent of the moshavot agriculture, and the economy which is in a state of depression.

The village alignment today has a varied economy, of which agriculture is only one component. It encompasses 30 percent of those villagers who are employed, while 70 percent are employed in non-agricultural work. Of this, about 20 percent are employed in village industry. The kibbutz is the leading factor in this area. Prof Pohorilis emphasizes that the kibbutz has become an industrial-agricultural society. This development advances the whole village form towards integrated development within the region framework, with a heterogeneous economic structure. The moshav economy must accelerate its integration into the new system, by developing industry appropriate to the family moshav community structure.

7075

CSO: 4423/174

# STOCK EXCHANGE RANKS 14TH LARGEST

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 15 Sep 83 p 6

[Article by Macabee Dean]

[Text]

TEL AVIV. — The value of all stocks traded on the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange at the end of July was \$14 billion, placing the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange in fourteenth place among the twenty largest exchanges in the world, according to a survey just published by Euroteam, a Tel Aviv financial consultancy firm.

The largest exchange is in New York, and the value of its shares is \$1,500b., more than three times the size of the second largest, that of Japan, whose value is \$417b.

As for a comparison between the value of shares and gross domestic product (GDP), Israel is in third place, after Singapore and Hong Kong. In both those places, however, the value of the stocks is more than the GDP. In Israel, the

percentage is about two-thirds of the GDP.

As for the value of the stocks per person — i.e., if the value was distributed equally among all inhabitants — it is \$3,400 in Israel, and \$13,000 in Singapore. In the U.S. and Switzerland, it is \$6,700 a person.

The market value of Bank Hapoalim stocks in April (the last comparative figures available) was \$2.25b. This value would rank Bank Hapoalim in ninth place in West Germany — before Volkswagen, fourth in Holland — before all the banks and Heineken beer; in second place in Italy, before Fiat — and in first place in France, Sweden, Belgium and Spain.

IBM, however, has a market value of \$68 billion — that is to say, five times the value of the entire Tel Aviv Stock Exchange.

CSO: 4400/12



ARIDOR'S SELF IMPOSED PAY CUT AROUSES ANGER

Tel Aviv HATZOFE in Hebrew 21 Aug 83 p 2

[Article: "Are Ministers Entitled to Cut Their Pay?"]

[Text] There are reports of great anger among members of the cabinet regarding the decision of Finance Minister Yoram Aridor to waive 10 percent of his salary, without there having been any discussion in the Knesset Finance Committee which has the exclusive authority to decide in the matter of ministers' salaries.

According to the same report, which was published in MA'ARIV last Friday, Deputy Prime Minister David Levy expressed outrage at the meeting of cabinet ministers for economic affairs regarding the decision of the finance minister, and he said to him: Now you will of course go and make this matter public...

The finance minister answered: I personally will not publicize this.

In any case, the report became public, and one of the people to express outrage regarding the step taken by the finance minister was Minister Aharon Ozen.

It is interesting that most of the cabinet ministers reject a cut in their salaries, but in the electronic media someone was already worried about publication, as though Dr Yosef Burg, Interior Minister, was the principal opponent of salary cuts for ministers...

It appears that there is a directing hand which is concerned about this.

Moreover, in the opinion of legalists, there is great doubt as to whether a minister can waive his salary, or even part of it. This is not within a minister's authority, but is up to the ministerial committee of the Knesset which sets the pay scale. Thus, if in fact a minister wants to reduce his salary, he can contribute part of it to a charity, or some other institution.

Thus, there is no significance to the demonstrative announcement of the finance minister and his deputy that they are waiving 10 percent of their salary, unless they announce the purpose to which they are transferring their contribution.

In summary, no demonstrative decisions are necessary here, but only a decision by the Finance Committee of the Knesset, for if salary waivers are necessary from the publicly elected officials, members of Knesset are not exempt from it, as well as others whose salary is linked to the ministers and members of Knesset.

It is therefore appropriate that the Finance Committee of the Knesset take an initiative in the matter, and the sooner the better.

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CSO: 4423/174

## NEGEV CITIES VIEWED AS ON DECLINE

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 18 Sep 83 p 8

[Editorial by Liora Moriel: "Death of a Dream"]

[Text] WHEN GOD MADE a covenant with Abraham in Beersheba, the Jewish nation and the desert both seemed eternal. Israel's first prime minister, David Ben-Gurion, underscored this link between nation and desert.

When he was buried in Sde Boker nearly 10 years ago, the Negev was no endless waste: pioneers had made inroads in science and architecture, agriculture and technology. The development town of Dimona had become a full-fledged city and Eilat a bustling port. Farms flourished, the Arava was slowly being inhabited and industries were providing jobs for thousands.

Today, the dream is dying a slow and unattended death. Thousands of people are leaving Dimona, where hundreds of apartments now stand empty. The city has consistently spent 50 per cent of its budget on education and today 1,000 of its young people are studying at colleges, technical institutes and universities.

But they want more than factory jobs when they return to town, and IS60 an hour at a textile plant cannot attract them. Indeed, it doesn't seem to attract anybody; young people prefer sitting in cafes, playing billiards and collecting unemployment cheques to menial jobs. Those with any prospects of a better deal elsewhere, leave.

In Mitzpe Ramon, the situation seems better, but it is not really. The only difference is that those who cannot find jobs leave quickly, not adding to the unemployment statistics.

Shmuel Cohen, chairman of the local council, called the local women "dynamite" — and he wasn't referring to their powers of attraction. They are capable of blowing up the town, he explained, since there are few jobs for women and those who cannot find employment pressure their husbands to leave as well.

WHEN THE ARMY redeployed in the Negev following the pullback from Sinai, everybody in the region expected a windfall. The Negev seemed destined for progress and success.

But it was not to be.

While the military was more than willing to cooperate, the civil authorities were slow to present blueprints for concerted action. According to Rafael Eitan, former chief of staff, the army had suggested adding a runway for jumbo jets to the Uvda Air Force Base in the Negev, but the Ministry of Transport vetoed the idea for lack of funds. Thus, said Eitan, Eilat and the Arava were denied the availability of fresh produce weekly.

An enterprising laundry owner in

Eilat set up a branch in Mitzpe Ramon, ostensibly for the army trade. Before opening, he sold his business to a Tel Aviv laundry which continues to handle the army contract alone — in Tel Aviv.

If it weren't for Project Renewal, the Negev would have died much more quickly. As it is, almost every development town is at least partly funded by PR. Community centres and synagogues (Ofakim, with a population of some 14,000, has over 30!) and medical facilities are constructed; edifices are sprayed with paint; some classes are organized. But spiritually, behind the whitewash, the situation is grey.

Yerah Glatter, chairman of Yeroham's local council, is very much aware of the fact that the only thing the development towns have to offer is a high quality of life: good schools, cultural activities at subsidized rates, clean air and a community spirit.

With budget cuts threatening the Negev more than any other region (because it is the government's lowest priority at present) and the "fringe frills" of culture and education being the first to feel the axe, this edge will disappear — and the development towns may disappear with it.

Those who leave will be those who would have been most able to enhance the quality of life and without them the towns will wither, even if they remain on the map. A series of surreal bus stops on the way to nowhere.

ALTHOUGH DIMONA has become a symbol for the current crisis of "the great escape" from the region, its mayor, MK Jacques Amir, is optimistic. He feels that if the Mediterranean-Dead Sea Canal project is implemented, the Nevatim Air Force Base adds a civilian international airport and the aircraft and other high-technology industries relocate in the Negev, it will flourish once again.

"The potential of the Negev is immense, and most of it is not yet used," he says. "It's inhabitants can

contribute to the state both economically and scientifically."

Recently, Amir invited Minister of Science and Development Yuval Ne'eman to Dimona to persuade him to work for the implementation of these programmes from the top. It was agreed that a joint committee of experts from Dimona and from the Nuclear Research Centre be set up to devise ways to attract the industries of the future to today's Negev, to prevent the brain drain increasing.

But with the problems facing the nation today, and with a government more concerned with external than internal affairs, Amir's op-

timism, while commendable, seems misplaced.

Containing only seven per cent of the country's population, the Negev — which comprises more than half of Israel's land mass — is not necessary for anybody's political survival. While it is all very well to tell the world about the great and wonderful strides in saline water technology and agriculture, most Israelis still consider the desert inhospitable.

Between pollution caused by the chemical industries and the maneuvers of the army (which has literally invaded the region), the Negev seems destined to remain in the Sand Age for many years to come.

BEN-GURION dreamed of the day when the Negev would be inhabited by a million Jews. Today, south of Beersheba, there are as many Beduin as Jews.

If nothing is done on a national level soon, the Negev will become one enormous military base. Already, Air Force planes, flying from three giant new bases, harass the towns (causing, in Arad, much material damage); IDF maneuvers have taken over many mountains, wadis and expanses previously enjoyed by hikers and nature lovers.

It is ironic that the present government, which received 60 per cent of the votes cast in the Negev in the last election, has so totally ignored its needs. The region is stagnating, and the smell may yet reach Jerusalem.

Perhaps by then it will be too late.

*The writer is a member of The Jerusalem Post editorial staff.*

## TELEPHONE SERVICE TO BE RUN BY PUBLIC COMPANY

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 15 Sep 83 p 1

[Article by Judy Siegel]

[Text] The staff of the Communications Ministry will be reduced by over 7,000 today, as the new public communications company — Bezek — is signed into existence at a ceremony in Jaffa.

The more than 7,000 telecommunications workers of the ministry automatically become employees of Bezek, but it will take another year before they will be free of the constraints of the Civil Service Commission. By September, 1984, they will be entitled to higher wages based on greater productivity, and managers will be able to hire according to need.

Bezek's tasks will be to manage the telephone and telex networks, the telegram and cable systems, computer data over telephone lines and transmission and reception of material by satellite.

The establishment of Bezek will be marked by a ceremony at Communications Ministry technical school in Rehov Kibbutz Galuyot in Jaffa. At 3:45 p.m. Communications Minister Mordechai Zipori is to sign the agreement along with representatives of the Treasury, the Civil Service Commission, the Histadrut and workers' committees.

It was made possible by the passing of the Bezek Law in the Knesset a few months ago. MK Gad Ya'acobi, chairman of the Knesset Economic Committee who helped

solve the legal problems of the legislation, will also be present, as will Bezek's chairman, Yisrael Sacharov.

The workers' committees held several votes over the last few weeks, and only yesterday gave the green light for the establishment of the public company.

The managing director of Bezek will be Zvi Amid, until recently chief communications officer of the Israel Defence Forces. The company will use a renovated building, Beit Mitzpe, which was formerly the premises of the Bank of Israel, as its headquarters. It is located next door to the central post office and the Communications Ministry main office in Jerusalem.

Zipori said yesterday that the founding of Bezek is the beginning of a process that will improve telecommunications services in Israel. Telephone installation and servicing will be improved, and an effort will be made by Bezek to induce customers to order more phones and apply for more computer-connected communications equipment, he said.

The Communications Ministry hopes in the not-too-distant future to divest itself of postal services. It will then be left with a mere 200 administrative employees.

OFFICER CONVICTED IN FLATTO-SHARON CASE

Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 19 Aug 83 p 5

[Article by Mordekhai Elkin: "Major Who Sent Flatto-Sharon On Own Initiative to Lebanon -- Confesses and Is Convicted"]

[Text] Maj Avi Bahat of the Manpower Branch/Casualties, of the General Staff, was convicted yesterday on his confession in the General Staff Military Court on nine indictments of deviating from authority, failure to obey orders, removing equipment from military control, and conduct unbecoming to an officer in the IDF. The affair is related to the travels of former MK Flatto-Sharon from Israel to Beirut as a broker, in fact, to handle the return of Israeli captives and MIA's who had fallen into enemy hands after the outbreak of the war in Lebanon.

The trial and testimony which took place yesterday in the Military Court before Lt Col Binyamin Stern, was conducted behind closed doors for reasons of state security. But the court permitted the publication of the facts which constitute the crimes, and their circumstances:

At the beginning of March 1983, the accused served as chief of the Section for Locating MIA's in the Manpower Branch/Casualties of the General Staff. In this position he was involved in dealing with the return of captives and MIA's. On his own initiative, without the knowledge of his commanders, he went to former MK Flatto-Sharon and asked him to deal with the liberation of prisoners and the problem of MIA's.

The accused presented himself to Flatto-Sharon as representing the IDF in the matter. Flatto-Sharon agreed to deal with his request and told the accused that for this purpose he would use his connections with various people in Lebanon and Europe. He also explained to the accused that he was about to go to Lebanon for his own private commercial interests.

At this time, Sharon was under a decree prohibiting him from leaving the country following legal proceedings against him. Maj Bahat told Sharon that he would assist him in getting the decree revoked. Without authorization, the accused wrote on behalf of the Manpower Branch/Casualties of the General Staff to the state attorney general and the High Court and stated that the exit of Flatto-Sharon to Lebanon was linked to, among other things, the issue of Israeli prisoners and MIA's.

After the decree prohibiting Flatto-Sharon from leaving the country was revoked, the accused assisted Flatto-Sharon in entering Lebanon, and even told the commander of the road block at Rosh Hamiqra that the recommendation of Flatto-Sharon's travel was with the knowledge of the Chief of Manpower Branch of the General Staff.

Sharon and his entourage entered Lebanon. When they returned to Israel they reported that they had conducted discussions regarding the Israeli prisoners and MIA's, and that there had been important progress. They asked to return to Lebanon, this time by plane.

The accused arranged a military flight round trip for Flatto-Sharon and his aide. Since the flight was military, Sharon did not need a revocation of the decree prohibiting him from leaving the country. To the credit of the accused, it was noted that he did not know that the decree prohibiting Flatto-Sharon from leaving the country was still in effect.

On his second trip to Lebanon, Flatto-Sharon was identified by a television correspondent who reported this to the commander of the accused. Maj Bahat's commander asked him if he had knowledge regarding Flatto-Sharon's trip to Lebanon. He at first denied it, but after a few minutes he confessed to being solely responsible for the "Sharon affair".

The matter was brought to the attention of the Chief of Manpower Branch of the General Staff, and a court martial investigation was begun, as a result of which Maj Bahat was indicted. He confessed to all of the facts, and that all was done without the knowledge of his commander.

During his contacts with Flatto-Sharon, the accused raised with Sharon's aid the possibility of a hundred thousand shekel loan from Flatto-Sharon. The latter rejected this possibility.

It was also determined that the accused had held control of a sum of \$1,800.00 which he had received from the Ministry of Defense for payments abroad to Israeli persons handling the matter of prisoners and MIA's. The ministry had allocated \$3,000.00 for such persons, and in fact the accused had only paid out \$1,200.00. The rest of the money he had placed in a bank. He claimed that it was intention to return the balance of the money to the ministry after the Israeli persons had returned from their missions abroad. He returned the money to the Defense Ministry after he was released from arrest at the end of the investigation.

Closing arguments of the prosecution and the defense will be heard at the next session of the court on Wednesday of next week. Later, the verdict will be rendered.

The prosecution is being conducted by Lt Col (Res) Aminadav Shakhor. The defense is being conducted by Lt Col Ilan Shif.

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CSO: 4423/174

## CONDITIONS AT ANSAR PRISON DESCRIBED

Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 22 Aug 83, pp 1, 15

[Article by Emmanuel Rosen: "IDF Loses Control Over Events at Ansar Camp"]

[Text] "The terrorist prisoners at the Ansar Camp are interpreting the forgiving conduct of the IDF soldiers in a shockingly arrogant manner. They are acting in a manner in which no one would dare to act in any jail for marginal crimes in Israel". This was said yesterday to MA'ARIV by a knowledgeable source in the IDF.

Similar things were related yesterday by a reservist who has since been demobilized after having been stationed on his last tour of duty at the prisoner camp. According to the reservist: "The terrorists control what goes on in the camp, and today it is not clear who is the captive of whom." This was confirmed by authoritative sources in the IDF.

The reservist related: "Slowly the IDF loses control of what goes on in the camp. At night, one can clearly hear the sound of digging underground. Today, the whole camp sits on a network of underground caves.. Sometimes, prisoners "disappear". Later, they are discovered, and there is no doubt that during that time they have been in one of the burrows."

Last Wednesday, there was another attempted escape from Ansar. Three prisoners succeeded in getting through the wire fence, but were caught before they disappeared.

A reservist relates: "People are afraid to approach the camp fences. The terrorists throw rocks and sticks, and curse without end. They throw feces wrapped in toilet paper at us, and urinate in our direction. But the orders are that we stand like the British queen's guards, and not respond".

A short time ago, the camp commander was hit in the head by a rock, and he required six stitches. From that day, the guards have worn helmets.

Each morning, a limited number of soldiers enter the compound for the daily count. One reservist says: "This entry is done under cover of tanks and armored half tracks. The soldiers are scared to death, and pray for the moment that it will be over. No one dares to get near them".



He says: "They get everything that they want, and are becoming spoiled. It is enough for a prisoner to say: 'I hurt', and immediately an ambulance enters the camp, under cover of an armored half track, which then evacuates him. Sometime ago, they were each given a cup of Yogli, but they threw them out and demanded two cups for each prisoner...".

The IDF is well aware of the situation at Ansar, but they are going along with a policy. One source says: "It is not the result of impotence, but because of a policy which must be carried out." Another source adds: "The IDF is making enormous efforts to control itself since the commander's head was split open -- not one shot has been fired".

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## ISRAEL

### BRIEF

IMMIGRATION STATISTICS -- Fifty-one families from the U.S., out of 250 families which came to Israel this summer as part of "Operation 2000" of the Department of Immigration and Absorption of the Zionist Organization, reported at the end of the operation that they had decided to immigrate to Israel. Most of them noted that they will come to Israel as new immigrants in the coming year, and a few of the families emphasized that they hoped to arrive as new immigrants within three months. These figures were made known yesterday at a meeting of the steering committee of the operation, which was held in Jerusalem, to assess the past year. The chairman of the steering committee, Ilan Rubin, who serves as deputy to the director general of the Department of Immigration and Absorption, reported that the 250 families who had come as part of the campaign, completed questionnaires in which they were asked to summarize their impressions from their stay in Israel of one month. It is to be noted that most of the participants emphasized that they had decided to immigrate, or that immigration had become for them a practical program, particularly because of the pressure of their children who had participated in the program with them, and now they view Israel as their natural home. An additional fact coming from the questionnaires deals with the opening of accounts at various banks in Israel. For example, of the 15 families who stayed as a group near Jerusalem, 11 of them opened accounts at Israeli banks, and four of the families in this group even purchased apartments in Israel. [Text] [Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 18 Aug 83 p 2] 7075

CSO: 4423/174

prosecution to conduct the interrogation, I object to the presentation of the record of the statements by my clients because it lacks the requirements of legal interrogation. Consequently, the record may not be taken into consideration and should be dismissed. I beg that my clients' statements as presented by the prosecution be rejected.

Answering the defense counsel, prosecuting attorney 'Abd-al-Rahim Qayya said: This case is considered a crime in which policemen are empowered to conduct an immediate investigation. The police may also complete the investigation if the public prosecution takes control of the case and then authorizes the police to complete the investigation. In this particular case, the prosecution did authorize the police to complete the investigation. Consequently, the witness interrogated some of the defendants, including defendant 'Abd-al-Rahman. Therefore, and considering that there is no legal objection to verbal authorization, the prosecution begs that the objection be denied and that the evidence presented at this session be accepted.

The court, after hearing the prosecuting attorney's reply to the defense counsel, decided to deny counsel al-Huwayni's request that the statement of his client and of the other defendants be dismissed because it had been taken by Warrant Officer Sha'ban al-Khayyal without authorization from the public prosecution. [The court decision said:] Considering that the defense counsel has noted that the federal law on the public prosecution's powers does not permit investigation by policemen without authorization from the prosecution and that the criminal proceedings law in force in Shariqah states in the arrest and detention section that the policeman may arrest any individual in any of the demonstrated cases, and considering that the same law states that a policeman may (question) any individual he has reasonable cause to suspect, may arrest any individual committing a crime in his presence without a prior arrest warrant, that a policeman conducting an investigation may request any individual to appear before him, that a policeman investigating a crime may interview any individual who is likely to help with the case by his testimony, that a policeman may take down the statements of a person and then read them back to the person and have him approve and sign every page of the statement, with the policeman doing the same;

And considering that the legal proceedings law in force in Shariqah has not been abolished or amended, the court denies the defense counsel's request that the statements not be accepted because of being taken without the authorization of a member of the prosecution.

After the court made its decision, the prosecuting attorney requested a recess to present the rest of his evidence. The court decided to grant his request and adjourned the session until 10 September 1983.

At the court of Judge Yunis Yusuf, attended by prosecuting attorney Mahmud 'Abbas and secretary Ziyad Tabbah, and after the 14 defendants, who had been released on bail, and defense attorneys 'Abbas al-Hasan and Shahdah al-Huwayni, as well as interpreter Murad Ibrahim Isma'il, who took the oath to translate honestly and truthfully, appeared before the judge, the prosecuting attorney asked for permission to answer what defense counsel Shahdah al-Huwayni had

AL-SHARIQAH COURT CONVICTS FOREIGN WORKERS OF DISTURBANCES

Dubayy AL-BAYAN in Arabic 29 Aug 83 p 5

[Article: "Thirteen Defendants Charged in Disturbance in Khawr Fakkan Are Absolved; Trial of 43 Others Is Postponed"]

[Text] After the Shariqah Criminal Court, presided over by Judge Yasin al-Bitar, absolved 13 defendants of the charge of engaging in an illegal gathering and disturbances that took place at Khawr Fakkan Port in Shariqah last 27 June, the courts of Judge Badr-al-Din al-Mukhlif and Judge Yunis Yusuf postponed examination of the case concerning the other defendants, comprising 43 Pakistani, Iranian and UAE nationals, until 10 September 1983 so that the prosecution could complete its evidence.

At the court of Judge Badr-al-Din al-Mukhlif, with 'Abd-al-Rahim Qayya as prosecuting attorney and As'ad al-'Alami as secretary, after 'Abd-al-Rahman Muhammad Ibrahim, who is charged with the premeditated murder of Hasan Muhammad Hasan, was brought from detention and after the other defendants, who previously had been released by the court on bail, and defense counsels Shahdah al-Hawbi and 'Abbas al-Hasan arrived at the court, the prosecuting attorney submitted his evidence, embodied in the form of testimony by Sha'ban al-Khayyal, (warrant officer) of the Shariqah Investigation Police, that he had interrogated the accused and the other defendants after they had been brought from Khawr Fakkan to Shariqah. The prosecuting attorney then presented the police report dated 28 June 1983 and the warrant officer testified that the thumbprint on the report is that of the defendant charged with murder and that the statement included in the cited report is quoted verbatim as stated by the defendant, namely, that he "wrenched the knife from the victim's hand and stabbed him with it in his abdomen." The prosecuting attorney also presented through the witness the statements of the other defendants that the witness had taken, noting that the statements were made without pressure or coercion.

At this point, defense counsel Shahdah al-Huwayni [as published], basing his statements on the provisions of the federal law concerning the prosecution's prerogatives, said: The prosecution has been given the powers of interrogation and indictment and, according to the law, the public prosecutor may delegate some of his powers to the judicial detention officers. But considering that the public prosecutor has not presented any evidence that the witness appearing before the court, namely, the police warrant officer, was empowered by the

raised in the preceding session regarding the division of the case, saying that this is out of the question because there is nothing legally to prevent a separation of the single case and that the decision of the chief judge to appoint three judges to examine the case in all of its ramifications must be carried out because this decision determines the jurisdiction, and the public prosecution may not disregard this decision.

As to what counsel al-Hasan has raised, it is out of the question in this case, which is confined to the crime of rioting and brawling. The counsel's criticism of (the public prosecution's decision to refer the case to the courts?) is misplaced because the prosecution, through its interrogation of the defendants, including the defendant charged with murder, has not proven that there are accomplices in the murder. Should this be proven in the future, the prosecution will do whatever is necessary vis-a-vis the defendants at that time and without outside instructions. The defense counsel may raise whatever objections he wishes before the court examining the murder case. Therefore, I beg that I be allowed to proceed with the case as stated in the indictment.

Prosecuting attorney: I hereby present the rest of my evidence, in the form of the medical reports concerning some of the defendants. These reports indicate that the defendants assaulted each other. The evidence is also found in a (transfer) report made by the Khawr Fakkan police confirming the incidents of gathering, rioting and brawling among all the defendants. This report also confirms that the policemen witnessed those incidents from the time they arrived at the scene to the moment they arrested the defendants in the presence of the Khawr Fakkan prosecuting attorney. The evidence is further embodied in the acknowledgement of defendants Muhammad M. and 'Abdallah A. of the crime with which they are charged.

The prosecuting attorney added: It is also evident from the documents that criminal intent existed among all the defendants and that they had planned to perpetrate the crime they are charged with, considering that they came to Khawr Fakkan from various emirates and from places far from the scene of the event, carrying with them their bladed weapons to commit their ugly crime, failing to resort to reason and logic and using force as the only way to solve their problems.

At this point, counsel al-Hawbi [as published] commented on the prosecuting attorney's statements, saying: I object to the public prosecutor's request to introduce the two (transfer) reports made by the policemen, as the prosecuting attorney has asked. If the court decides to use these two reports as evidence, then I insist that they be presented by the policemen who wrote them so that the defense may have the opportunity to cross-examine the policemen on the contents of the reports. I also object to the prosecuting attorney's last explanation, which is recorded in the court's minutes and which is not based on the documents. The prosecution may not make such statements unless they are based on the documents and the evidence presented, and it is our opinion that the prosecution has presented nothing of the sort so far.

Defense counsel al-Hasan also commented on the prosecuting attorney's statements, saying that the prosecution should not have referred his clients to

the court to start with because the preliminary investigation was unable to gather sufficient evidence for the decision to refer them. In the view of the defense counsel, the medical reports do not constitute evidence against the wounded defendant but rather for him because this being the case, the defendant referred to this court may have received a blow while loading goods at the port.

Prosecuting attorney: I request that defense counsel al-Hawbi's objection to presentation of the police reports be overruled because the policemen are civil servants who witnessed the incident personally and within the framework of their jurisdiction. The penal code states that it is not conditional that reports be presented by those who write them.

Court: Considering that the public prosecutor has presented all his evidence in this session, the court sees no objection to accepting this evidence on condition that the policemen who wrote the two reports presented by the public prosecutor be summoned so that the court may hear their testimony and the defense counsel may cross-examine them. This session is adjourned until the 10th of next month.

The court of Judge Yasin al-Bitar, attended by prosecuting attorney 'Abd-al-Rahim Qayya and the defendants' attorneys, issued its sentence absolving 13 defendants of the crime for lack of sufficient evidence. At the same time, the court convicted two defendants, Muhammad Sh., a Pakistani citizen, and 'Abdallah M., another Pakistani citizen, of the crime of entering and staying in the country illegally, sentencing each to a 40-day prison term, from which the detention period is to be deducted, and to deportation from the country.

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CSO: 4404/611

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

MAY TRADE IN DUBAYY REACHES 2.5 BILLION DIRHAMS

Dubayy AL-BAYAN in Arabic 2 Sep 83 p 2

[Article by 'Ali Lashin: "Dubayy's May Trade is 2.5 Billion Dirhams; 82 percent Re-export of Industrial Goods"]

[Text] The volume of Dubayy's foreign trade, excluding crude oil, during May was 612,529,297 kilograms, amounting in value to 2,547,263,975 dirhams. The volume of imports was 453,468,711 kgs, with a value of 1,798,033,554 dirhams, some 70 percent, while the volume of exports was 111,625,775 kgs, valued at 172,533,542 dirhams, a percentage of 7 percent. The volume of re-exported goods was 47,434,811 kgs, valued at 576,696,879 dirhams.

New statistics of the Bureau of Ports and Customs in Dubayy make it clear that the volume of exports and re-exports together totaled 159,060,587 kgs, valued at 749,230,421 dirhams, i.e., 30 percent of the value of the trade during the month and 42 percent of the value of the imports for the same period.

The statistics reveal that the value of imports of foodstuffs and live animals amounted to 197,481,946 dirhams, while the value of these items re-exported totaled 59,733,597 dirhams, or 30 percent.

The value of imports of beverages, tobacco and cigarettes totaled 23,060,245 dirhams, with the value of re-exporting these items amounting to 7,658,687 dirhams, 33 percent. Raw materials excluding fuels totaled 36,512,583 dirhams, with re-exported items amounting to 9,875,487 dirhams, 27 percent.

The value of imports of fuel, lubricating oils and other petroleum derivatives was 128,700,764 dirhams, of which the re-export value was 78,389,019 dirhams, some 61 percent. Animal and vegetable oils and lard totaled 7,201,679 dirhams, with the re-export value being 1,453,805 dirhams, 20 percent. Chemical materials amounted to 126,387 dirhams, re-export value 22,978,200 dirhams, 18 percent.

The value of imported industrial goods amounted to 450,186,738 dirhams, with the re-export value being 369,573,680 dirhams, 82 percent. Vehicles and transportation equipment and tools amounted to 453,141,690 dirhams, with the re-export value being 180,184,464 dirhams, some 40 percent.

Industrial tools and equipment totaled 373,348,999 dirhams, with the re-export value amounting to 80,975,991 dirhams, 22 percent.

Finally, the value of other miscellaneous imports was 2,225,523 dirhams, while the re-export value of this group amounted to 18,407,491 dirhams, some 827 percent.

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CSO: 4404/624



FEDERAL DRAFT BUDGET ALLOCATIONS FOR 1983 DETAILED

Breakdown by Categories

Dubayy AL-BAYAN in Arabic 9 Aug 83 pp 1, 14

[Article by 'Ali Ibrahim]

[Text] Ahmad al-Tayir, minister of state for financial and industrial affairs, told AL-BAYAN yesterday evening that the current year's federal state budget, approved by the Council of Ministers yesterday, calls for increasing the first section allocations, involving salaries and wages, to 4.04 billion dirhams, compared with 3,893,000,000 dirhams in 1982, increasing the second section allocations, involving current expenditures, to 2,809,000,000 dirhams, compared with 2,693,000,000 dirhams in 1982, and reducing the third section allocations, covering capital expenditures, to 156.6 million dirhams, compared with 286 million dirhams last year.

The minister added that 1.65 billion dirhams has been allocated for projects, compared with 950.2 million dirhams last year, and 495 million dirhams have been earmarked for the financial investments section compared with 1,589,600,000 dirhams in 1982. The minister also noted that this year's draft budget allocates 2,354,300,000 dirhams for total [general] appropriations and 6,855,000,000 dirhams for defense.

The minister pointed out that the contributions to financing the budget will consist of 9.5 billion dirhams from Abu Dhabi, 3 billion dirhams from Dubai and 400 million dirhams in revenues from the ministries.

He said that the budget deficit, amounting to 5,506,900,000 dirhams, will be dealt with by rationalizing spending and squeezing expenditures, especially of the second section, and by expectations for improved oil revenues within the framework of the improvement currently being experienced by the oil market and expected to continue for the remainder of the year.

Ahmad al-Tayir pointed out in his statement to AL-BAYAN that the most important items of the total [general] appropriations section are distributed as follows:

Foreign aid of 550 million dirhams.

Fuel subsidies of 600 million dirhams for UAE electricity plants, excluding Abu Dhabi.

A sum of 315 million dirhams for UAE University, compared with 400.43 million dirhams in the 1982 budget.

A sum of 82 million dirhams for the Higher Youth and Sports Council, compared with 112.43 million dirhams in last year's budget.

Aid to municipalities of 42.4 million dirhams.

Contributions and assistance totaling 20 million dirhams.

A sum of 30 million dirhams for catastrophe aid.

A sum of 35 million dirhams for pension funds.

A sum of 10 million dirhams for the UAE organization.

A sum of 20 million dirhams for compensation and judgments.

#### Revenues From Emirates

Dubayy AL-BAYAN in Arabic 10 Aug 83 p 2

[Article by 'Ali Ibrahim]

[Text] Estimated revenues in this year's draft federal state budget, approved by the Council of Ministers yesterday, are down 3,149,800,000 dirhams compared with the actual revenues of last year's budget, according to end-of-the-year figures, whereas the total volume of this year's budget shows a slight drop, totaling 847.9 million dirhams, compared with actual spending last year.

A comparison of figures shows that the estimated revenues in this year's budget amount to 12.9 billion dirhams, including 9.5 billion from Abu Dhabi, 3 billion from Dubayy and 400 million dirhams in revenues from the ministries, whereas actual revenues last year amounted by the end of the year to 16,049,800,000 dirhams, including 15,653,300,000 in contributions from the emirates and 396.5 million in other contributions. But if this year's revenues are compared with the estimated revenues of last year's budget at the time that budget was issued, then the drop amounts to 7,375,600,000 dirhams, considering that the 1982 estimated revenues totaled 20,375,600,000 dirhams.

According to Central Bank figures, actual spending in last year's budget, totaling 22.6 billion dirhams, by the end of the year amounted to 19,254,800,000 dirhams. This means that the total volume of this year's budget, totaling 18,406,900,000 dirhams, shows a slight drop below 1982 actual spending.

Whereas the deficit estimated for last year's budget at the time that budget was issued amounted to 2.3 billion dirhams, this deficit rose by the end of the year to 3.2 billion dirhams as a result of the drop in revenues. According

to the initial results of the final state account, the deficit in this year's budget amounts to 5,506,900,000 dirhams, an increase of 2,306,000,000 dirhams over the actual deficit in 1982.

The drop in the contributions of the emirates to this year's federal budget comes as a result of the drop in the emirates' oil revenues--a drop emanating from the current oil crisis, keeping in mind that the contributions to the federal budget are based on advancing 50 percent of Abu Dhabi's and Dubayy's oil revenues to finance this budget.

UAE oil revenues fell by 10 billion dirhams last year, declining from 45,480,200,000 dirhams in 1981 to 34,643,200,000 in 1982, a drop of 23.8 percent. It is expected that these revenues will drop no less than 15 percent in the current year in light of the reduction in OPEC oil prices from \$34 to \$29 per barrel last March.

The main figures of this year's draft budget show that the main reductions in appropriations have come in financial investments, cut nearly 75 percent, from 1,589,620,000 dirhams last year to 495 million dirhams in this year's draft budget.

Foreign aid in the total appropriations section also shows a considerable drop in the 1983 draft budget, declining from 2.6 billion dirhams advanced by the federal government in international aid last year to 550 million dirhams in this year's draft budget.

Whereas 6,855,000,000 dirhams are allocated for defense in this year's draft budget, actual expenditures of the Ministries of Interior, Justice and Defense last year totaled 8,891,800,000 dirhams and estimated appropriations in the 1982 budget amounted to 10,055,100,000 dirhams.

The third section appropriations, covering fixed capital spending, are cut considerably, declining from 286,013,000 dirhams last year to 156.6 million dirhams in this year's draft budget. Project appropriations have also fallen slightly, from 1,950,200,000 dirhams last year to 1.65 billion dirhams this year.

On the other hand, the appropriations for other sections, such as the first section, which covers wages and salaries, have risen slightly. The appropriations for this section are up from 3,893,042,000 dirhams last year to 4.04 billion dirhams this year. Appropriations for the second section, covering current expenditures, have risen from 2,693,778,000 dirhams in 1982 to 2,809,000,000 dirhams in the 1983 draft budget.

The subsidy for the emirates' electricity plants, excluding Abu Dhabi, is also up considerably, totaling 600 million dirhams in the 1983 draft budget compared with 386 million dirhams advanced by the federal government in 1982.

The appropriations for UAE University are down slightly, from 363 million dirhams in 1982 to 315 million dirhams in the 1983 draft budget.

It is to be noted that entries for subsidies for oil derivatives, amounting to 490 million dirhams last year, and for essential food commodities have disappeared from this year's draft budget.

REVIEW OF PROJECTS COMPLETED IN FIRST HALF OF YEAR

Dubayy AL-BAYAN in Arabic 10 Aug 83 p 4

[Article by Samih Ghazal: "Ministry of Public Works Receives 46 Projects for Nine Ministries, With Total Value of 214,656,000 Dirhams"]

[Text] The number of projects received initially in the first 6 months of this year was 46, belonging to 9 ministries and with a total value of 214,656,000 dirhams.

Ministry of Education: al-Dahhan kindergarten in Ra's al-Khayman; a 24-classroom elementary school for boys in al-Hamidiyah, Ajman; a 12-classroom elementary school for boys in Western Area 47 in Abu Dhabi; a 24-classroom elementary school (in block 11) in Umm al-Qaywayn; a 24-classroom elementary school for girls in al-Safiyah, Dubayy; a 24-classroom secondary school for girls in Ra's al-Khayman; a 24-classroom secondary school for girls in Dubai; four economy housing units for teachers in Hatta; seven economy housing units for teachers in al-Siji; and a boarding section to accommodate 100 students in Ra's al-Khaymah.

Ministry of Health: The Ministry of Public Works received seven clinics for the Ministry of Health, namely: An outpatient clinic in al-Khalidiyah, Abu Dhabi; a clinic near Masla al-'Id in al-'Ayn; a clinic in Bani Yas, Abu Dhabi; a clinic in al-Bahr in al-'Ayn; a clinic in al-Bayadat, al-'Ayn; a clinic in al-Asili, Dubayy; and a central school health clinic in Sharjah. The Ministry of Public Works also received central medical warehouses in Dubayy.

Ministry of Interior: Maintenance of Falj al-Mu'alla police station in Umm al-Qaywayn, the recruits school in Sharjah and al-'Uwayr police station in al-Shariqah.

Ministry of Islamic Affairs and Trusts: A mosque in al-Nakhil, Ra's al-Khaymah, for 400 worshipers, maintenance of al-Mas'udi mosque in Khawr Fakkan, repairs on al-'Ayn mosques, al-Ra's mosque in Umm al-Qaywayn for 400 worshipers and a mosque for 200 worshipers in Western Area 25 in Abu Dhabi.

Ministry of Justice: Daba court in al-Fujayrah.

Ministry of Communication: Internal roads in Ra's al-Khaymah, Ra's al-Khaymah-Kharrran road, al-Rams-Sha'm internal roads, al-Butayn post office in

Abu Dhabi, additions to the Abu Dhabi central post office, a two-floor building at the ministry headquarters and the Tourist Club Post Office in Abu Dhabi.

Ministry of Agriculture and Fish Resources: A marine workshop on Dayy Island, a marine workshop east of Za'bil in Dubayy, a veterinary quarantine in Ra's al-Khaymah and a marine workshop in al-Jazirah al-Hamra'.

Ministry of Information and Culture: A cultural center in Ajman.

Ministry of Public Works and Housing: Nine economy housing units in Dubayy, 28 economy housing units in Ajman, 10 economy housing units in Rawl Daba in al-Fujayrah, 15 economy housing units in the Hilton area of al-Fujayrah, construction of walls and car parking lots at the ministry's garage in Ra's al-Khaymah and 15 economy housing units in al-Khasb, al-Fujayrah.

8494

CSO: 4404/613

## UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

### BRIEFS

**SURGE IN TRADE**--Trade statistics in Dubayy, during the first third of this year, reflected a strong upswing in the export trade, since the value of exported goods multiplied 112.6 percent over the comparable period of last year. It totaled some 1.8232 billion dirhams, compared with 857.7 million in the first third of last year. In terms of volume, it rose 89.1 percent. Non-petroleum exports also increased 18.1 percent in value to 416.6 million dirhams, compared with 282.8 million in the comparable period of last year. A volume increase of 47.1 percent was recorded. The increase in imports was slight, since it amounted to 9 percent in volume and 12 percent in value, during the period of comparison. Their value reached approximately 6.6 billion dirhams during the period from January to April, compared with 5.9 billion during the period from January to April, 1982. The re-export share of total non-petroleum trade for Dubayy grew to 9.05 billion dirhams for the first four months of the year, a growth of 20.2 percent. [Text] [Dubayy AL-BAYAN in Arabic 2 Sep 83 pp 1, 14] 7005

CSO: 4404/624

TESTIMONY REPORTED ON 'MASSACRE COMMITTED BY SOVIETS'

Paris LIBERATION in French 13 Sep 83 p 17

[Text] Soviet soldiers killed 24 villagers in retaliation for the death of their officers. A French journalist was able to go to Rauzda several days after the massacre.

The Soviets are slaughtering the civilian population of Afghanistan: the accusation has been expressed many times by representatives of the Afghan resistance. For the first time, a Western journalist back from Afghanistan claims to have been able to confirm with his own eyes the veracity of these accusations. Patrice Franceschi, a photographer with the Sygma agency who entered the country along with a team of World Doctors and Islamic Front resistants, was able, on 7 July, to go to the village of Rauzda, a large town located at the entrance to Ghanzni, on the Kabul-Herat international highway.

During his 48-hour stay in Rauzda, Patrice Franceschi was able to verify the story of the villagers: "About 2 am on 30 June, the village was surrounded by tanks," he relates. "There was no member of the Afghan army with them. At dawn, protected by helicopters, the soldiers left their vehicles and began to take control of the village, street by street. A young resistant of 18 by the name of Ghulam Hazrat was at home with his weapon and was surprised at the swiftness of the Russian intervention. Frightened, he sought refuge at the bottom of a well located in the courtyard of his home. At about 10 am, a six-man patrol, including one officer, forced open the door of the courtyard and began to search the premises...." "It wasn't long before the officer and a soldier leaned over the top of the well. Finding himself discovered, the young resistant opened fire, killing the officer and wounding the soldier. He was killed immediately under the fire of the other Russian soldiers. This was then the signal for blind retaliation. The four remaining soldiers pelted the men who were in the house--the father, a cousin, and two of Ghulam Hazrat's uncles with a Kalashniko machine gun. Then they went out and gathered together all the men they could get their hands on in the vicinity of the house--passersby, shopkeepers, etc. They were first beaten and stripped of their valuables before being executed summarily on the streets. Twenty-three persons were assassinated...."

"After the massacre, the Russians continued to comb the village while a helicopter carried off the dead officer and the wounded soldier. A nomad was also

killed in the mountains not far away with no one really knowing why. The twenty-four dead, considered to be martyrs, were buried in a corner of the large park which surrounds the Sultan Mahmud mausoleum. I was able to visit their graves and take photographs. As soon as they could, the villagers informed the Afghan governor of Ghazni: the latter told them that he could do nothing, the Russians having forbidden him to go to Rauzda...."

12253

CSO: 4619/98



MUJAHIDIN DENY IN-FIGHTING, EXPRESS OPTIMISM

East Burnham ARABIA THE ISLAMIC WORLD REVIEW in English Sep 83 pp 25-26

[Text]

☉ "All I long for is shahadah (martyrdom), independence of Afghanistan; yes, but for Allah and Islam." The 34-year-old Captain Zalmai was emphatic on the objectives of the Mujahideen.

Captain Zalmai is one of thousands of Afghan soldiers who defected to the Mujahideen soon after the Russian invasion. He was with the mountain-based Battalion 31 of the Asmar Konar region. His statement, charged with emotion, may sound politically naive. But it is this naivety which has kept the Jihad going in Afghanistan for the fourth successive year.

What the Russians thought would be a walkover has now turned into a battle for survival and prestige. Who could predict that the Russians, with their awe-inspiring military might and sophisticated skills, would be snarled up in their fight against the Mujahideen, who were initially dismissed by the Soviets as "lollipop fighters"?

Moscow has now started saying that a withdrawal is possible if "outside interference" in Afghanistan is stopped. But who are these invisible foreign intruders, asked Zalmai. "The Russians have no jurisdiction in our land, to tell us what we should do," he added. "If foreign intruders mean Afghan Mujahideen, then what a big joke it is," he said sarcastically.

During the last four years, not only has the number of Mujahideen grown from 2,000 in 1980 to 234,000 in 1983, but so has their confidence and determination. Optimistic talk of victory is now the language of the Mujahideen. Commander Abdul Lateef Hilmi of the Lahman province, who has taken part in several encounters with the Russians, told *Arabia*: "Every tree, every mountain, every rock and every road is their (the

Russians') enemy. They are afraid, they are surrounded by people wishing to kiss shahadah."

There are indications that, even in the wake of a Russian pull-out from Afghanistan, the Jihad may continue. The Mujahideen are now saying that they would take their struggle into what they call "Soviet-held" Bukhara, Samarkand, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan.

Many observers, particularly in the West, see a stalemate in the situation—the Mujahideen are holding on to what they hold and the Russians are keeping what they control. Observers also say that the Mujahideen may have some advantage on land, but the Russians are dominant in the sky, and that he who controls the sky will win.

Commander Hilmi, however, thinks otherwise. "We control 90 per cent of the country. Whoever mentions a stalemate does not, in fact, understand Jihad and Afghanistan. The situation is radically changing every day. Every day we demoralise them, every day many Russians are killed and weapons and ammunition destroyed." He added: "Many of us also taste martyrdom, and what a way of welcoming death; what a victory it is."

More than 40,000 Mujahideen have been martyred. The number of Afghan civilian casualties is much higher. But there are no signs of demoralisation or shifting loyalties. The Russian operation to wipe out the Mujahideen, and the subsequent atrocities, has not had any substantial effect on the people. "After a Russian attack in any area more and more people join us," said Captain Zalmai.

Mujahideen fight in their own areas. They are unevenly scattered all over the 28 provinces but claim to have established a smooth communication link and

reinforcement supply line. Much sophisticated Russian equipment is now in their possession. "Recently we captured R118 BN3, R105M wireless sets and 76mm and 122mm cannons and T62 tanks. Every raid on a Russian contingent brings us large quantities of ammunition," said Captain Zalmai.

A Mujahid's whole family participates in the Jihad. Familiarity breeds concern: "The whole area acts as one people; women cook food for the Mujahideen, children supply it and elders pray for us," said Commander Hilmi.

A Mujahid lives in a state of emergency. He is expected to fight at any time, anywhere and under any conditions. Normally a day starts with vigorous military exercises, but before that the accompanying alim (religious preacher) reads out verses from the Quran and the sayings of the Prophet. In July 1981 in Baghlan, where Captain Zalmai took part in a successful attack on the Russians, the Mujahideen did not sleep for five continuous days. "We did not miss a single prayer, day and night. We fought; then, whenever we got a respite, we remembered and narrated Badr and Uhud, we recollected our martyrs and prayed for our victory," the captain explained. "In the end we overpowered them and none of us was hurt," he added.

Sometimes questions are raised over the Mujahideen's political competence and the way they manage their internal affairs. It has been widely reported that one of Afghanistan's best-known fighters, Ahmadshah Massoud of the Panjshir valley, has agreed to a truce with the Russians. It is also said that Massoud's Jamaat-e-Islami forces fought with rival Hezb-e-Islami forces in April. The argument is that the Afghan cause is badly damaged by in-fighting.

Commander Hilmi denied these reports and believes that differences are natural. He also points out that any revolutionary situation breeds differences of opinion and divergent views on tactics: "In a traditional society loyalties do not change overnight," he emphasised. "The tribal society takes time to adjust itself in a completely different situation. The important thing, however, is that within a short time - four years - a unified political and military command has emerged and established its legitimacy in the far-flung areas."

He also said that there was only one party fighting in Afghanistan, and this was Ittihad Islami Afghanistan.

The leadership of Ittihad Islami is based in the refugee camps in Pakistan, but its

leaders actively fight inside Afghanistan, besides campaigning for their political rights. "Only recently, Hikmat Yar, the deputy leader of the Ittihad, was in Afghanistan fighting shoulder to shoulder with his men," Hilmi said.

What is now becoming clear is that the Mujahideen will not accept anything less than an Ittihad Islamic government in the case of a Russian withdrawal. Commitment to Islam and loyalty to the Ittihad are the two main conditions which they put before anyone willing to join them.

It is believed that the Russians fear that if they pull out, Karmal might be replaced by an Iranian-style Islamic government and the Afghan-Soviet border might become vulnerable to the Mujahideen.

The Mujahideen have refused to give anyone the right to make any political decision on their behalf, neither Pakistan nor Iran nor anyone else. They have rejected the Geneva talks. "Only the Mujahideen will decide what their political will is. If someone strikes a deal with the Russians or the Karmal regime, he can do it on his own; we will not stop our Jihad," as Commander Hilmi explained.

A negotiated political settlement looks like a far-distant possibility. At present it is the barrel of the gun that is shaping the nature of events in Afghanistan, and will continue to do so in the near future. As Commander Hilmi said: "The Mujahideen wants to attain shahadah in Moscow. After all, some companions of the Prophet sacrificed their lives in Afghanistan in those difficult days." He added: "The bullet has belied Russian designs in the past and it will drive them out of the country."

The Mujahideen believe that the Jihad is a religious duty on all Muslims, and expect the ummah to decide their role in the Jihad. Though bitter over the role of some Muslim governments, the Mujahideen place their confidence in the religious sentiments of common and unheard Muslims. "Their voices may prevail one day to create a broader unity in the ummah," Captain Zalmai said. "A victory for the Mujahideen will bring new blood into the ummah."

"All we have," emphasised Captain Zalmai and Commander Hilmi, "are our longings for shahadah, the prayers of the Muslim masses and the ammunition we snatch from the Russians, and we are going to tell the world that we can humiliate the Russian might; even if we are left with no weapons, we will fight and fight . . ."

# DISSIDENCE REPORTED IN BANGLADESH-PRC GROUPS

## Friendship Association Election

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 29 Aug 83 p 3

[Text] Mrs. Kamrun Nahar Laily and Mr. Md. Lotfe Alam were elected President and General Secretary respectively of the Bangladesh China Friendship Association (BCFA) at the biennial general meeting of the association held on Saturday at the Insurance Academy Auditorium in Dhaka, says a Press release.

Presided over by Mrs. Kamrun Nahar Laily, President of the association, the meeting elected office-bearers and members of BCFA for a term of two years.

Messrs Alauddin Ahmed, Julmat Ali, Khan Md. Yasin, Mia Mohan, Bairut Isphani, Mia Sadekur Rahman, Abu Naser Khan Bhasani, G. A. Khan and Montu Khan were elected Vice-Presidents. Mr. Jakin Hossain was elected Treasurer while Messrs Delwar Hossain, Omar Khasru and Shahidul Hoq Tuku were elected Assistant Secretary General.

The meeting passed a number of resolutions including demanding withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan and Kampuchea, congratulating Chinese Government for their decision to construct friendship bridge over the river Buriganga as monument of Friendship between the people of Bangladesh and China, expressing resentment against India Government decision on Barbed wire.

## Rival Association Disowned

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 31 Aug 83 p 8

[Text] Mr. S. A. Sikdar, General Secretary of the Bangladesh-China Friendship Association in a statement issued to the Press on Monday said that there is only one organisation under the name and style of Bangladesh-China Friendship Association headed by Mirza Golam Hafiz. According to the law of the country, this very organisation has the approval of the Government of Bangladesh and recognised by the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries, he said.

Mr. Sikdar said that the name of the Bangladesh-China Friendship Association has illegally been used by a handful of people who were expelled from the Friendship Association in 1982 for anti-organisational activities. Mr. Sikdar said that the Association has no connection with the so-called Friendship Association formed with Mrs. Kamrunnahar Laily as its President and Mr. Mr. Lutfe Alam as Secretary General.

## Secretary General's Statement Refuted

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 1 Sep 83 p 8

[Text] Mr. Lutfe Alam, Secretary General, Bangladesh-China Friendship Association (pro-Laily) said on Wednesday with reference to a news item published in the Bangladesh Observer on the day that the claim made by Mr. S.A. Sikder as Secretary General of the Friendship Association is untenable. He said that association led by Mrs. Kamrunnahar Laily was registered in 1978 from the Ministry of Home Affairs in the name of Mr. Lutfe Alam as the Secretary General as Mirza Golam Hafiz resigned from his position as President of the Association. He said that the committee headed by Mirza Golam Hafiz has no official recognition.

ERSHAD ADDRESSES 18-POINT DELEGATES

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 28 Aug 83 pp 1, 12

[Text]

The Chief Martial Law Administrator Lt. Gen. H. M. Ershad on Saturday called upon the people to build 'fortress' of 18-point programme in every hut and hamlet throughout the country for establishing a happy and prosperous 'New Bangladesh' reports BSS

This fortress he added will protect teeming millions from poverty hunger and diseases.

The CMLA was addressing a mammoth gathering of delegates of 18-point programme implementation council from Dhaka City invitees and representatives from all districts subdivisions upazillas thanas and municipalities in Dhaka.

The unending stream of people cheered Gen. Ershad as he spoke to them for about 35 minutes at the open courtyard of the old Sangsad Bhaban now the CMLA's Secretariat.

Amidst thunderous applause the CMLA said the 18-point programme was a charter aimed at economic emancipation of the people and fulfilment of their hopes aspirations and dreams. He recalled that the people of Bangladesh had been subjected in the past to exploitation deprivation false promises and breach of trust and commitment.

General Ershad who appeared before the sea of human heads amid clappings ovations and slogans described the participants as soldiers and co-travellers for implementation of the 18-point programme and said that a dimension and new chapter was added to the history of Bangladesh. The spontaneous response and upsurge of the masses to the 18-point programme is unbelievable and a rare event he said adding they came to the conference of their own out of call of their heart.

The CMLA said that patriotism was nobody's monopoly. Those who create history can never forget it he said and reminded how the raised hopes and dreams of the people remained unfulfilled despite the historic events of 1940, 1947 and 1971. He said that history was created in 1971 with the sacrifice of blood by lakhs of shaheeds but he pointed out the people of Bangladesh continued to be deprived exploited and oppressed despite the rosy promises.

General Ershad said that the people today have become conscious and no more take credence to farce false promises and bluffs as they were subjected to in the past. They have seen enough palace conspiracy blood sheds fights and counterfights plunder of national resources dictatorship and killing of democracy in the name of democracy in the past few years he said.

Referring to the events of 1975 the CMLA said that the people have seen how ministers took fresh oaths in Bangabhaban when the body of their President still remained in a pool of blood.

Amid shouts of 'shame shame' from the gathering General Ershad said that the people do no more want to see such disgraceful events to blemish the history again. They want an end to the suppression and deprivation and to live in peace and stability with two square meals a day a piece of cloth and a little shelter. He said adding the people want to see a system institution and organisation function to ensure sustained discipline and development.

The CMLA said that the whole objective of the 18-point programme was to turn the dream

of the masses into reality and to reawaken the sleeping people of villages.

Explaining the basic philosophy of the 18-point programme, the CMLA said that the government was determined to build a new Bangladesh as a self-reliant and respectable nation through active participation of the people. He said that the programme which also provides for equitable distribution of national wealth had for the first time provided for reflection of Islamic ideals and values in state and social life. It also calls for protection and preservation of our language and culture and consolidation of national solidarity, he added.

Referring to 'thin voices' raised by some political leaders to restore democracy by holding general elections before the local bodies election, he said "why they should be afraid if the people's democracy starts from grassroots in the villages. Why they should be afraid of tradition, institution and system, why should they feel concerned if the activities are shifted to the rural areas and money spent for the development of villages.

General Ershad described the democracy he had promised to the nation as 'people's democracy and said that the days of palace democracy originating from cities and towns had ended. This time, democracy would start from the huts of the farmers in villages and not from the palaces, he observed.

General Ershad firmly refuted allegations of involvement of the Armed Forces in the killing of democracy in the past and wanted to know whether it was the Armed Forces or others who had changed

the 1972 constitution and introduced one-party rule in 1974. It was not the Armed Forces but the then political leaders who were at the helm of affairs. He reminded that in 1975 one cabinet Minister took oath as President after the killing of the then President. He pointed out that the man who took over as President was not a member of the Armed Forces. He was a lawyer and member of the same political party, he said amid applause and added then why the Army is blamed again and again.

General Ershad said that the first Chief Martial Law Administrator of the country in 1975 was the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and not a military man. Afterwards, General Ziaur Rahman who was appointed CMLA by the then President had become the President after receiving mandate from the people.

Recalling the situation after the assassination of President Zia, the CMLA said the Armed Forces could have taken over the power following the bloody events. But he and the Armed Forces had allowed the civilian administration to continue through holding of elections.

In this connection, General Ershad reminded the gathering of the chaos, instabilities, uncertainties and lawless situation which followed the elec-

tions in 1981 and said that the Armed Forces for the first time in the history of Bangladesh took over the responsibility.

General Ershad said that duty of the Armed Forces was to defend the country and its independence, "but if the country is not there what we will defend?" he asked referring to the crisis facing the nation at that time.

The CMLA said that the attempts were being made to isolate the Armed Forces from the people. But he said amid cheers "the Armed Forces are part of the people. We are your sons and brothers. Then where is the difference?"

General Ershad said that the Armed Forces and the people are united and there is no difference among them, "all of us want to live a better life and build a happy and new Bangladesh", he said and urged the people to realise the motive behind attempts to separate the Armed Forces from the people.

Referring to the situation in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, the CMLA asked the people whether they knew how many army personnel had to sacrifice their life and what sacrifice the Armed Forces are making for the defence of the area. If the Armed Forces stayed away, the Chittagong Hill Tracts would not have remained part of Bangladesh," he said.

General Ershad reiterated his commitment that no industrial enterprises would be returned to anyone other than Bangladeshis. He said propogandas are being made that abandoned industries were being returned to Pakistanis. He held out the assurance that his commitment as a Muslim and a militaryman would not be broken and such industries would never be returned to foreign nationals.

Earlier, in a brief address, Minister for Local Government Cooperatives, Rural Development and Religious Affairs Mr. Mahbubur Rahman told the gathering that their participation in the 18-point programme implementation was a proof that the call given by General Ershad on March 24 had reflected the dreams and aspirations of the nine crore people of Bangladesh. He said that the 18-point programme was a revolution, a movement, a history and a mirror to reflect the spontaneous thinking of the people. It is going to be spontaneous programme of the nation, he added.

The minister urged the people to rally round the 18-point programme of General Ershad and said that the nation would move forward to bright future under skilled leadership of the CMLA. "we will bring to an end to the past anarchy and injustices", he added.

ERSHAD MESSAGE, DOHA SPEECH AT PALESTINE MEETING

Report on Message

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 1 Sep 83 pp 1, 12

[Text] Geneva, Aug. 31:—The Chief Martial Law Administrator, Lt. Gen. H. M. Ershad has expressed the hope that the cause of peace in this troubled world would be further promoted during the current U.N. sponsored conference on Palestine question, reports BSS.

In a message addressed to the 10-day international conference which began here last Monday, General Ershad also expressed confidence that deliberations of the conference would 'inject a sense of urgency and create a new awakening'. This awakening, he added, would lead to greater international recognition and understanding of one of the most intractable problems of our times: the question of Palestine.

Reiterating Bangladesh's deep commitment to the cause of the Palestinian people, the CMLA described as 'indispensable' the participation of the PLO as the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people of an equal footing with all other parties on the basis of relevant U.N. General Assembly resolutions.

General Ershad reminded the participants of the Geneva conference of their 'enormous responsibility' on the Palestine problem and said, "I have every hope that the success of your deliberations would help close one of the saddest chapters in modern time."

Following is the text of the message from the Chief Martial Law Administrator, Lt. Gen. H. M. Ershad, addressed to the UN conference on the question of Palestine from August 29 to September 7, 1983.

'The convening of the international conference on the question of Palestine having overcome all hurdles is commencing today in Geneva--that beautiful city which for centuries has inspired mankind with the ideals of freedom, liberty and justice. On this historic occasion, on behalf of the Government and people of Bangladesh as well as on my own behalf I convey greetings and sincerest felicitations to the organisers of the conference and to all the distinguished delegates attending the conference. It is our hope that during the next few days the cause of peace in this troubled world will be further

promoted. I am confident that your deliberations will inject a sense of urgency and create a new awakening that would lead to greater international recognition and understanding of one of the most intractable problems of our times, the question of Palestine.

'The Government and people of Bangladesh are deeply committed to the cause of the Palestinian people. We are convinced that a just and durable peace in the Middle East cannot be established without the total and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from all Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem and without the achievement of the inalienable rights by the Palestinian people, including the right to establish an independent sovereign state in Palestine with Jerusalem as its capital. The participation of the PLO, the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, on an equal footing with all other parties on the basis of relevant U.N. General Assembly resolutions is indispensable.

'This meeting is being held at a very crucial phase in the history of the Middle East. The defiance, arrogance and the expansionist policies of Israel has turned the Middle East into a tinder-box, that poses a grave threat not only to peace in the region but indeed to the whole world as well.

'We pay tribute to the valiant people of Palestine who have endured and fought against the brutalities, persecution and suppression of the Israeli horde with courage and heroism. No longer, however, can the international community remain merely mute spectators to this sad spectacle in the Middle East. All of you, therefore, have an enormous responsibility and I have every hope that the success of your deliberations would help close one of the saddest chapters in modern times.

'The people of Palestine not only deserve to be victorious in achieving an independent state of their own but we are sure that with the wisdom acquired from their years of trials and tribulations, the Palestinian people would make positive contributions to world peace and to the progress of humanity in the days to come. I wish the conference all success.'

#### Summary of Speech

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 1 Sep 83 pp 1, 12

[Text] Geneva Aug 31: The Foreign Minister Mr A. R. Shamsud Doha yesterday called upon the international community to take necessary steps to compel Israel to withdraw from all occupied Arab territories to create conditions for the restoration of the rights of the Palestinian people reports BBS.

Addressing the current UN sponsored international conference on Palestine here, Mr Doha reiterated Bangladesh's firm and unequivocal support to the cause of the Palestinians.

Bangladesh, he said, was committed to support any effective measure for bringing to an end the Israeli aggression and the realisation by the Palestinian people of their right to self-determination, independence and national sovereignty.

The Foreign Minister said "We are convinced that a just and durable peace in the Middle East cannot be established without the total and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from all Palestinian and Arab territories occupied since 1967 including Jerusalem".

Mr Doha told the conference that the participation of the PLO, the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people on an equal footing with all other parties on the basis of relevant UN General Assembly resolutions, was indispensable.

"There is a clear and universal convergence of views with regard to the gravity of the situation and what needs to be done. There is perhaps no other issue on which the international community has pronounced so clearly and so frequently," he said.

The Foreign Minister said that in the face of this grave situation "we must resolve to forge unity in our ranks." The present conference, he added, "must address itself to finding ways and means towards mobilizing even greater international opinion for the implementation of relevant UN resolutions".

He pointed out that five regional preparatory meetings had provided valuable inputs for the current meeting and said "let us carry the process forward".

Describing the tragedy of Palestine as "the tragedy of mankind" Mr. Doha said the arrogant policies of Israel further compounded by a false sense of history and propriety were fully reflected in the occupied territories, particularly the policy of settlements. These continued acts of aggression, he added, were obviously premeditated and were in complete violation of all canons of international law and all norms of civilised conduct.

The Foreign Minister said such policies constituted a serious obstacle to peace in West Asia and the world at large and, therefore, deserved to be opposed and rejected in clear and categorical terms.

Mr. Doha expressed serious concern at the deteriorating situation in West Asia and said the tragic sufferings of our Palestinian brethren and the uninterrupted process of Zudication of all occupied Arab and Palestinian territories, including Al-Quds Al-Sharif and the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and their continued occupation of Lebanese territory had dangerously escalated tension in the region.

Recalling the history of struggle of the Palestinian people, Mr. Doha said that in 1969 the UN General Assembly recognised the Palestinians as people having rights as an entity, a people with a national identity and added, all subsequent resolutions of the United Nations dealing with the subject had reaffirmed it.

He said the current conference had a unique mandate to enable the Palestinian brothers to realise their inalienable rights which in historical terms had a direct bearing on the fundamental values of our civilisation.



The Foreign Minister welcomed the PLO delegation and said its participation was yet another demonstration of the PLO's firm resolve to cooperate with the international community to seek a just and peaceful settlement of the Palestine question.

He paid tributes to the Palestinian leadership and said that in the face of intense adversity they had shown exemplary courage, patience and fortitude.

Mr. Doha expressed the hope that the present conference could mark a decisive phase in the search for peace. "Let us pledge to work together towards the dawn of a new era in which we can perhaps replace a generation of war by a generation of peace".

CSO: 4600/1016

ERSHAD: LOCALLY PRODUCIBLE ITEMS NOT TO BE IMPORTED

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 31 Aug 83 p 1

[Text] The Chief Martial Law Administrator, Lt. Gen. H. M. Ershad declared in Dhaka on Tuesday that import of industrial products which can be produced locally will be banned reports BSS.

Addressing a group of businessmen and industrialists at the CMLA's Secretariat, General Ershad said the concerned ministries have already been asked to prepare a complete list of all such industrial items. Our dependence on imports must be reduced to provide incentive to local industries.

He said we have to build up the industrial base in the country through mobilisation of our own resources. "If others can do it, why not we?" he asked and said, "What we need is a change in our mentality. We must give up our fascination for foreign goods".

Gen. Ershad said, the country's industrial base may start with primary, middle and indigenous technology. Our entrepreneurs may be young, but are very promising in their ability and innovations, he said, adding: The Government will provide all necessary support and infrastructural facilities for the expansion of the industrial base.

He referred to the industrial and fiscal policies of the Government and said, the Government wants to ensure a healthy competition between the public and the private sectors. The private entrepreneurs, he said, should make best use of the incentive measures and invest more in the industrial sectors. There has been a positive improvement in the investment climate during the past one year, he added.

The CMLA said, the Government is simplifying the procedure to facilitate the growth of industries. The aim of our new industrial policy is to create a clear and favourable climate for the prospective entrepreneurs, he added.

He advised the industrialists to keep one thing in mind that "they must not take advantage of the ban on imports by indulging in unscrupulous profit making" and said their first and foremost consideration should be love for the country and the common people.

Gen. Ershad spoke of various measures being undertaken by the Government to do away with red-tapism and said we have to build our socio-economic framework on the basis of a pragmatic policy. He said in order to give momentum to the decision making process the Government is contemplating introduction of computer technology and change the filing system. Under the new system the original files would be maintained at a central place and only the paper-sheets will move with comments of the decision giving authority to hasten the process of implementation. This will reduce the fattening of files unnecessarily, he said, adding: "we are trying our best to change the old system which stands in our way to progress".

The businessmen and industrialists present commended the steps taken by the Government for rejuvenating the national economy and extended their wholehearted support for the successful implementation of the 18-point programme.

CSO: 4600/1012

REPORT ON ERSHAD SPEECH TO INDUSTRIAL WORKERS

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 30 Aug 83 pp 1, 12

[Text] DEMRA (Dhaka), Aug. 29:—The Chief Martial Law Administrator, Lt. Gen. H.M Ershad today announced certain incentives and welfare measures for the workers to mark the beginning of another journey to improve their condition and boost production in the industrial sector, reports BSS.

Addressing a mammoth rally of workers here, the CMLA said "the incentives I am announcing today, may not be that big for you but the most important thing is the beginning of steps for your welfare. Once we have started, Inshallah we will be able to bring smiles on your face."

Amidst thunderous applause from thousands of workers, he said the workers' Minimum Wage Commission will start working immediately to announce its award as early as possible. In the meantime, the millworkers in the public sector will get one month's salary as advance before the coming Eid-ul-Azha. The advance is not to be deducted from their salary, it is to be adjusted with pay after the announcement of the Wage Commission award, he added.

Gen. Ershad also announced that from now on the daily night allowance for the workers will be Taka three. There will be provision for one month's gratuity also for cotton mills workers which was not there so far.

He said the cases of workers who have been removed from jobs will be reconsidered for reinstatement provided they are not found guilty of criminal offences.

Referring to the question of making gas available to the workers of Demra area, the CMLA said this will be done.

He also assured them that a technical school will be set up at Demra, the construction work of which will start soon. This will benefit the children of the workers. A small hospital will also be established for the industrial workers of the area he added.

When it was brought to the notice of the CMLA that workers in some of the privately owned mills are still not getting 30 per cent compensatory allowance, he said that he will instruct the authorities to discuss the matter with the concerned mill owners to resolve the issue.

Gen. Ershad said the Government wants to ensure improvement of the lot of both peasants and workers, the two most vital pillars of national economy. Some reformative measures have already been taken to reshape the condition of the farmers. We are now going to take effective measures to improve the condition of workers who have been equally deprived and exploited like the peasants in the past, he added.

Stressing the need for increasing productions in fields and factories, the CMLA said "the more they produce the more they get as the share of the profit."

He advised workers to maintain peaceful atmosphere in the industrial sector and said "Our mills have already given enough loss and wasted enough resources in the past. Now we must recover from that pathetic state of affairs. It is a good sign that the workers by dint of hard labour have made it possible to reverse the situation and help the mills to start earning a little bit of profit. Things will have to improve further he added.

Referring to the 18-point programme announced by the Government Gen. Ershad said it is the charter of 10 crore people for achieving economic emancipation. It envisages the establishment of a self-reliant economy. It will emancipate teeming millions from poverty hunger diseases and illiteracy. It will bring an end to deprivation and exploitation of the poor he added.

He called upon the workers to extend their active cooperation to the government to implement the programme. The whole meeting at the big maidan filled to its capacity, burst in one voice spontaneously expressing their solidarity with the programme.

Moved by the love shown by the meeting and exuberance at the confidence reposed in him, Gen. Ershad said his Government has come to redress the sufferings of the teeming millions who were left uncared and were swayed away by sugarcoated words by the leaders in the past. Our Government believes in deeds and does not like to befool the people with false promises. We are true to our words and our actions have been testifying our sincerity of purpose he added.

The CMLA said he was happy to see the determination of the workers to remain united and keep away from party politics. "Your unity is your strength and never allow it to be frustrated by outside elements. If you have faith in Almighty Allah and work hard, you will certainly achieve prosperity" he added.

A number of labour leaders who addressed the rally expressed their determination not

to be swayed away anymore by the false promises of political leaders. They also pledged to work hard with devotion and sincerity with a view to increasing production to help implement the 18-point programme.

The Labour and Manpower Minister Air Vice-Marshal (Retd). Aminul Islam also addressed the rally.

Earlier, Gen. Ershad visited Karim Jute Mills and Ahmed Bawany Textile Mills here both public sector enterprises. He went round different sections

of the mills and evinced keen interest in their functioning. He talked to the workers and enquired about their welfare.

The CMLA expressed his dissatisfaction at the working condition in the mills. He directed the concerned authorities to improve the condition without further delay. "We must improve the working condition in the mills and factories if we are to increase production" he added.

On arrival at the mills premises the workers welcomed the CMLA with cheers and welcome slogans. They also

raised slogans expressing their support to the 18-point programme of the Government and determination to implement it in the greater national interest.

Gen. Ershad also visited the Sonali Paper Board Mills, a private sector enterprise at Tarabo. The factory which was commissioned in 1982 has been producing 15 thousand tons of duplex board annually. The main raw materials used in the factory is waste papers.

CSO: 4600/1010

FEWER INDUSTRIES SANCTIONED OVER PAST 11 MONTHS

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 16 Sep 83 pp 1, 8

[Article by Shamsuddin Ahmed]

[Text] The government has sanctioned 456 industrial units during the eleven months to May last involving an investment of Tk. 323 crore.

Industries Ministry sources said many more small industries requiring no permission of the government have also been set up during the last financial year. The figures of those are being compiled by authorities concerned.

Of the total investment, about 60 percent will be in foreign currency available from international financial institutions.

The investment includes in the sanctioning of 22 units under foreign collaboration accorded by the Chief Martial Law Administrator. Proposal for such units was processed by the 'one stop cell' of the Directorate of Industries.

Compared to this, sanction for industrial investment during 1981-82 was much higher. Figures available from the Industries Directorate showed 2,347 units were sanctioned in the year involving an investment of about Tk 956 crore including a foreign exchange component of Tk 372 crore. The highest number of 715 textile units involving a total investment of Tk 115 crore were sanctioned in that year.

The reasons for sanctioning less number of industries last fiscal year were explained by officials as entrepreneurs were more interested in buying disinvested units rather than setting up new ones. Besides, many of them got return of their jute and textile industries where they remained absorbed.

A senior official of the Industries refuted allegations that they delayed sanctioning of industries. There is record that we have completed sanction within four weeks, he said.

The official, however, admitted that certain delay caused in some case which involved the money of international financing institutions. Project appraisal report is required to be sent to them and the project cannot be sanctioned before they are satisfied about the viability of the unit.

CSO: 4600/1030

ERSHAD 3 SEP SPEECH TO FREEDOM FIGHTERS REPORTED

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 4 Sep 83 pp 1, 8

[Text] The Chief Martial Law Administrator, Lt. Gen. H. M. Ershad, Saturday called upon the freedom fighters to join the toiling masses in implementing the 18-point programme aimed at achieving their economic emancipation.

Addressing a mammoth rally of the freedom fighters and the people organised by the Dhaka city unit command of the Bangladesh Muktiyoddha Sangsad at Mirpur Section I, Gen. Ershad called upon the people to wage war against exploitation, corruption, illiteracy, poverty and injustice and told them to unite to achieve success. He said that difficulties in implementation of 18-point programme would be overcome.

Terming the freedom fighters as the greatest sons of the soil, Gen. Ershad said that they were deprived in the past and their image was tarnished. He regretted that these valiant sons were after branded as hijackers and looters. [as published] He assured the freedom fighters that their image would be restored and that they would be established in the society with full honour and dignity. He said that the dreams of the freedom fighters would be materialised. He said that they would keep up the spirit of the war of independence and uphold the flag of Bangladesh at any cost. He told the freedom fighters to help consolidate the sovereignty of the country. Gen. Ershad was overwhelmed at the sight of the huge gathering at the Bengali Medium High School ground at Mirpur. He assured the residents of Mirpur of solving their problems. He said that the problems of abandoned houses would be looked into. Gen. Ershad concluded his speech with a self-composed poem dedicated to the freedom fighters. The title of the poem is "Lal Suryer Fasal".

Earlier, Gen. Ershad set free 18 pigeons symbolising the 18-point programme. The rally was also addressed by Mr. Zakir Khan Chowdhury, Chairman of the Bangladesh Muktiyoddha Sangsad; Mr. Ismail Hossain Bengal, one of the Vice Chairmen; Alhaj Giasuddin Bir Protik, General Secretary of the sangsad and Sadek Ahmed Khan, Commander, Dhaka city unit command of the Bangladesh Muktiyoddha Sangsad.

BBS adds: tracing back the history of liberation, Gen. Ershad said that the embryo of nationalistic struggle got its life from the Language

Movement of 1952 when we shed blood for the protection and preservation of our own language and culture. Step by step the struggle crystalised into a national war in 1971 and we won it after shedding lot of blood and sacrificing many lives. Although we made supreme sacrifices to achieve our independence, the economic emancipation of the people remained unfulfilled, he added.

The CMLA said the hopes and aspirations of the people including those of the freedom fighters were frustrated. The poor people continued to suffer from exploitation, deprivation, injustices, poverty, hunger, diseases and illiteracy, he said adding: I had also seen the pathetic plight of the freedom fighters.

Gen. Ershad, who is also the chief adviser to the Muktojoddha Sangsad, said the day has come when the nation must give the freedom fighters their due place in the society and work relentlessly for the fulfilment of the dreams of the teeming millions.

He said the 18-point programme has given the nation a sense of direction to reach the fruits of independence to the common people.

The enthusiastic crowd punctuated his speech with welcome slogans and clappings. When the CMLA wanted to know whether everybody is ready to implement the programme the meeting expressed its solidarity in one voice with the leadership of Gen Ershad and the 18-point programme.

Gen. Ershad, seemingly exalted at the spontaneous support expressed by the mammoth gathering, said "We, all the peasants, the workers, the students, the freedom fighters and the people from all walks of life, are ready to implement the programme and Inshallah we will succeed, surmounting all the impediments."

He referred to the reformative measures undertaken by the present Government during the last 17 months and said these pragmatic and revolutionary measures will reshape the entire national life. "I have been facing many obstacles in the way of implementing the reforms but never retreated as I know you all are with me."

The CMLA said that the days of speech-making are over. Now it is the time for hard work, he said, adding: "We have to build a self-reliant and self-respecting nation through our united efforts and hard work. If these efforts are channelised through the 18-point programme, we will Inshallah reach our cherished goal.

He explained the salient features of the programme amidst applause and cheers. The first and foremost aim of our programme, he said, is to consolidate and preserve national independence and sovereignty. Other features include reflection of Islamic ideals in every sphere of the state and national life, preservation of our own culture and language, ensure basic necessities to the people like food, shelter, education, medicare, employment, opportunities, revitalisation of rural economy, equitable



distribution of national resources, improve social conditions, peoples' democracy from grass roots level and decentralisation of administration and judiciary.

On democracy, Gen. Ershad said the democracy enunciated in the programme meant democracy of the people, of the toiling masses of the poor people, of the peasants and of the workers and not the democracy limited to the palaces as was the case in the past. The power this time will emanate from the people in the rural areas whose fate needs to be changed and improved.

Continuing, he said, in the past the administration under the cover of so-called democracy was kept out of bound of the people and it worked to rule the people instead of serving them. He said the present Government has decentralised the administration and the judiciary and taken them to the door steps of the common people. In the reorganised structure the people themselves will plan and implement the development programmes according to their requirements and the rural areas will be developed politically, economically and socially.

The CMLA pinpointed the population explosion as dreadful problem facing the nation and appealed to the urban and educated people to spread out to the villages to make the people understand the gravity of the problem and motivate them to adopt family planning to check population surge. Our existence as a nation will face a serious crisis unless we succeed to halt the unbridled growth of population, he added.

Gen. Ershad expressed great concern at the proposed construction of barbed-wire fencing by India along the border with Bangladesh and said it would mean tarnishing the image of Bangladesh in the eyes of the world which we can never approve. The whole gathering echoed the CMLA in full-throated slogan denouncing the erection of the barbed-wire fencing.

The CMLA, amidst reverberating cheers, expressed his pledge to keep the national flag and that of the Muktiyoddha Sangsad aloft in all the time to come. The crimson Sun in the green ben of our national flag, and the symbol of struggle depicted in the holding of rifle in the strong fist of freedom fighters in the Muktiyoddha Sangsad flag will always inspire the nation to preserve its independence and sovereignty and struggle for peace and progress.

Speaking on the occasion, Mr. Zakir Khan Chowdhury, Chairman of the Central Command Council of Bangladesh Muktiyoddha Sangsad, declared the Sangsad's total solidarity with Gen. Ershad in achieving economic emancipation for the ten crore people through implementing 18-point programme. He said, the members of the Sangsad, who did not hesitate to stake their lives for independence, are now avowed to continue their unfinished struggle for attaining economic freedom of the people.

Mr. Chowdhury deplored the proposed erection of fencing by India and its procrastination to give Bangladesh its due share of the common river waters. Such attitude of India towards Bangladesh will impair the

relations between the two neighbours, he said, adding: Bangladesh cannot continue to be subjected to the whims and caprices of others.

The meeting was also addressed by Al-haj Giasuddin; Bir Pratik, Secretary General; Mr. Ismail Hossain Bengal, Vice-Chairman and Arshad Ali Mangal of the Central Command Council; Mr. Sadek Ahmed Khan, Commander, Dhaka Mahanagari unit command; Mr. Sawkat Ali Khan Jahangir of Dhaka unit Command, Mr. Sharifuddin, Unit Commander, Mirpur unit and Al-haj Harun ur-Rashid Mollah.

Earlier, on his arrival at the meeting venue, the CMLA was profusely garlanded and the children showered flower petals on him. He was also presented with a crest of Muktiyoddha Sangsad. Gen. Ershad released 18 white doves marking the launching of the 18-point programme by the Muktiyoddha Sangsad of which he is the chief adviser.

CSO: 4600/1019

TEXT OF OPPOSITION GROUPS' STATEMENT OF DEMANDS

Dhaka HOLIDAY in English 10 Sep 83 p 3

[Text]

Two political combines representing 22 political parties will simultaneously observe on September 30 a "demand day" to press for the realisation of a 5-point charter of demands which include withdrawal of martial law, holding election to a sovereign parliament in the next winter before any other election and transfer of power to that parliament, free political activities and release of politicians.

The two political combines announced the programme in identical statements issued on September 6. One is the 15-party alliance comprising Awami League (Hasina), JSD, NAP (Muzafer), CPB, Workers Party, Ekota Party, Sramik-Krishak Samajbadi Dal, Awami League (Mizan), Awami League (Farid Gazi) Gano Azadi League, Samayabadi Dal, (Toaha), Samayabadi Dal (Nagen), Bangladesher Samajtantric Dal, NAP (Haroon-Pankaj) and Mazdoor Party. The other is composed of BNP (Sattar), UPP, Gonotantric Party, Jatiyo League, NAP (Nurur Rahman), KSP (Nanna Mja) and Bangladesher Communist League.

The September 6 statement reads:

"A deep crisis in the political, economic and social fields has been created through the continued imposition of martial law for a long period by ignoring public opinion.

There is a vacuum in the representative political system because of the continuation of martial law. As a result, corruption has become allpervasive and increased alarmingly, law and order system has broken down and the security of life and property of the people has been jeopardized.

The national economy has been destroyed, prices have further escalated, rents and taxes have increased, life has become undearable and the nation suffers from utter frustration. The government has failed to resolve disputes like the Farakka. In the field of international relations, national interest and honour have been compromised. Under these circumstances, the withdrawal of martial law has become imperative.

We have further noted with indignation that the money collected from our poor countrymen as rents and taxes, and from the national exchequer are being squandered and the

higher administration is being used to fulfil the high political ambition of particular individuals and coteries. The 18-point implementation committees and the so-called organisations of students, youths and workers are being set up with public money. Unprecedented anarchy and terror have been let loose by sending armed mercenaries to the university.

\* We have further noted that particular sections have monopolised political powers.

We are afraid that if the situation is allowed to drift like this, the nation will soon plunge into extreme anarchy.

Out of this realisation, we, the patriotic, nationalist, democratic and progressive parties representing the people, have united to save the country and nation from this grave crisis, to consolidate independence and sovereignty, restore democracy and establish rights of the people, we demand:

(1) Martial Law must be withdrawn immediately and the army must return to the barrack.

(2) Democratic atmosphere, including fundamental rights, must be restored

immediately and all restrictions on political activities will have to be withdrawn.

(3) Elections to sovereign parliament must be held in the next winter before any other elections are held, and the sovereign parliament must be convened and power must be transferred to the elected representatives of the people. The right to take decisions on all national issues must be vested with the sovereign parliament. Only the elected sovereign parliament, and none else, will have the right to take any

decision regarding the constitution.

4) All political leaders and workers, who are detained on political grounds, are under-trial prisoners and sentenced under martial law regulations, will have to be freed and all political cases must be withdrawn.

5) There must be trial of the persons responsible for the mid-February student killing. The list of the dead and the wounded must be published and they must be paid compensation.

We call upon our countrymen to participate in a

movement on the basis of these five demands.

We announce at the same time that a "demand day" will be observed country-wide on September 30, 1983 with a view to building up a movement for realising these demands. Rallies and meetings will be held on the "Demand Day". We are also stating that if the government does not take definite steps immediately by conceding to these five demands, we shall announce the next programme of movement."

CSO: 4600/1025

REPORTAGE ON DEVELOPMENTS IN AWAMI LEAGUE

Hasina Speech in Chittagong

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 29 Aug 83 pp 1, 8

[Text] Aug 28: Sheikh Hasina Wazed has called upon the followers of Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman to shun all misunderstandings of the past and wage a greater movement under the banner of Awami League with its leadership in the forefront to materialise the ideals of Bangabandhu.

She was addressing an Awami League workers meeting of the Chittagong District (North and South) and city Awami League at the Muslim Institute Hall this evening. Presided over by Abdul Mannan, joint convenor of city Awami League, the meeting was also addressed by presidium members Korban Ali, Abdus Samad Azad, Dr. Kamal Hossain, Zillur Rahman, Organising Secretary Tofael Ahmad, Salahuddin Yusuf, Amir Hossain Amu and advocate Shahera Khatun.

Sheikh Hasina said Awami League will present a real exploitation-free society to the people through democracy. Demanding release of all political prisoners including the Awami League leaders, Sheikh Hasina called for creating an atmosphere congenial for the return of those who sought political asylum abroad with a mission for taking revenge of the Bangabandhu killing.

Sheikh Hasina said the killing of Bangabandhu only affected the people but did not benefit the nation. The killing prompted a process of increasing poverty, deterioration of the day-to-day life of farmers, workers and people from all walks of life and law and order situation.

In a choked voice Sheikh Hasina demanded exemplary punishment for the killers of Bangabandhu and said he was killed by the imperialist powers and their local agents at a time when he was going to initiate a sound social, political and economic system through Baksal.

Sheikh Hasina refuted the idea that with Bakshal Bangabandhu concentrated power in his own hands but said with Baksal he created a platform wherein people from all walks of life could participate in the decision making activities without getting involved in foul play for power.

The Awami League Chief said since '75 a destructive trend of palace politics and politics of killing has set in.

Sheikh Hasina termed the current economy of the country as a capitalist one and said under the present economic policy the mills and industries were being concentrated in a handful of wealthy persons and said the policy was not in accordance with the policy of the CMLA which said economy would start from the hut.

She demanded immediate election for a sovereign parliament. She also criticised the idea of creating "Notun Bangla" and said Bangladesh had enough glory of its past as the land of Bangabandhu, Suhrawardy and Sher-e-Bangla.

Dr Kamal Hossain said with the people's verdict Awami League would 'inshaallah' establish socialism in the country to minimise the sufferings of the common people. In this regard he demanded immediate resumption of full-scale open political activities.

Zillur Rahman said if the Awami League workers cannot build up themselves as vanguards of socialism another 60 lakh lives will not be able to bring smiles on the lips of the people.

Tofael Ahmed said on September 1 they would announce the new programme of Awami League. By September/October Awami League will reconstitute its thana and union level committees and in January the biennial election will be held. The days are not far off when a mass movement will be launched with Sheikh Hasina as the leader, Tofael Ahmad added.

The meeting, though an indoor meet, drew a large number of people who listened to the speakers standing outside the hall, in the lawn and on the road. Traffic on the road to Shaheed Minar was closed due to heavy rush. Microphone was also fitted at the demand of the people waiting outside the hall.

#### Correspondent Interviews Hasina

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 30 Aug 83 pp 1, 8

[Text] Aug. 29: Sheikh Hasina, chief of Bangladesh Awami League (H), said if elected to power her party would implement all aspects of Baksal programme except its political aspect which called for a one-party rule in the country.

She said this in an exclusive interview with this correspondent at Muslim Institute Hall yesterday evening. When asked if this meant her party had deviated from the Baksal philosophy, she said "we will give priority to implement socio-economic aspects of Baksal which ensured economic and political emancipation for people of all walks of life. She said due to the changed circumstances and people's demand her party dropped the one-party system. However she said that in the one-party system as enunciated

in Baksal programme there was no denial of democracy. Rather it was the democracy of all who can have representation in the party that was the only political platform of the country.

Answering another question she said if people wanted her party might come back to its original philosophy. Baksal was not floated without people's will she maintained, adding in 1975 people from all walks of life, including journalists, wanted to have a single party led by a popular leader, so Bangabandhu made the system.

After 1975 incident there was no democracy in the country. She said the so-called democracy practised during the BNP regime was based on force and autocracy. People were forced to cast vote in their favour and there are widespread riggings in the elections.

#### Hasina Announces 12-Point Program

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 2 Sep 83 pp 1, 8

[Text] Sheikh Hasina, President, Bangladesh Awami League, on Thursday called upon the party workers to join the party anew forgetting the "past differences and errors," reports BSS.

Announcing a 12-point programme at the party headquarters on Thursday afternoon, Sheikh Hasina also called upon the people to join Awami League and help implement its four basic principles announced earlier.

In the beginning Sheikh Hasina inaugurated a month-long renewal and new membership drive of the party by renewing her own primary membership.

The 12-point programme includes demand for immediate withdrawal of Martial Law, a sovereign parliament next winter before holding the local bodies election, restoration of fundamental rights and repeal of all black laws.

The programme also demanded restoration of the image of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and punishment to the killers of Sheikh Mujib, members of his family and the four leaders in jail.

The programme further demanded gradual reduction in the land ceiling to 36 to 24 bigha and fixation of land ceiling in the cities, repeal of denationalisation programme, introduction of people-oriented education, introduction of Bangla at all levels, banning import of foreign culture and preservation of autonomy of the universities.

The programme also includes socio-cultural economic communication and foreign affairs activities of the party which will be pursued in the coming days.

Central leaders of the party including Dr. Kamal Hussain, Mr. Abdus Samad Azad, Mr. Korban Ali Zillur Rahman, Mr. Tofaej Ahmed, Mrs. Ivy Rahman, Syeda Zohura Tajuddin, Sheikh Abdul Aziz, Mr. Abdul Mannan and Acting General Secretary Begum Sajeda Chowdhury were present on the occasion.

Sheikh Hasina said Awami League programme as regards foreign policy is based on friendship to all, malice to none. She said issues like sharing of the Ganges water at Farakka, Talpatty, Tin Bigha enclaves should be solved through bilateral discussions upholding the national interest.

With an oblique reference to Razzak faction of Awami League against whom her faction of the party has brought charges of violation of discipline, she said that they were welcome to join the party.

She said that since August 15, 1975 the politics of killing and conspiracy is continuing in the country. There is neither any democracy, nor any fundamental right of the people for the last eight years, she claimed.

She said that her party has given the programmes for the establishment of Bangladesh Krishak Sramik Awami League (BAKSAL) on the basis of four state pillars following the guidelines of late Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

Replying to the charges of killing of democracy in 1975 through formation of one party BAKSAL she said that it was formed peacefully with people from all walks of life for the economic emancipation of the people.

She, however, said that the immediate demands of her party are the realisation of the 11-point programmes launched by the 15-party alliance.

CSO: 4600/1009



RAZZAK'S AWAMI LEAGUE ANNOUNCES 7-POINT PROGRAM

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 9 Sep 83 pp 1, 8

[Text] Mr. Abdur Razzak, General Secretary of Awami League (R) yesterday announced a 7-point programme incorporating various demands relating to the fundamental rights of the people, release of political prisoners, trial of the Bangabandhu's killing, defence forces, foreign policy and various national issues.

The announcement was made at a press conference held within a week of the press conference of the Awami League (H) where Awami League President Sheikh Hasina Wazed announced a 12-point programme of her party. Both the press conferences were held at 23 Bangabandhu Avenue which is still being used by both the groups of the party as their respective central office.

The press conference of the Razzak faction of Awami League was attended by Messrs Abdul Malek Ukil, Abdul Momen Talukdar, Mohiuddin Ahmed, Taleb Ali Lutfar Rahman, Syed Ahmed and some district leaders.

Answering a question Mr Abdul Malek Ukil denied that he had reposed his confidence in the leadership of Sheikh Hasina Wazed at the workers' meetings of the party in Noakhali.

He said that he had simply wished well of her. One's well-wishing and reposing confidence are not the same, he added. He said he had done everything possible for unity and would continue to hope for it.

Addressing the press conference Mr Abdur Razzak said his party will launch a movement to realize the demands of the party from September 7.

Simultaneously he expressed solidarity with the programme of the 15-party alliance to be announced on October and called upon the workers of his party to make it a success.

While announcing the programme he said all efforts for unity of the party have failed and the special council to be held on October 7 and 8 has been aimed at resolving the organisational crisis. Alongside this the party has taken up a programme incorporating various demands to resolve the existing national crisis, he added.

He said there is no reason to retreat from the ideology and programme of the Baksal, but in the absence of a huge personality like Bangabandhu and in changed socio-economic and political circumstances there is no other way but to adjust Baksal's organisational and procedural aspect in the context of the multi-party politics.

Mr. Razzak said the last two and a quarter years left the dedicated workers of the party and the people frustrated and confused in the absence of a definite programme and politics with a direction.

He said, "The imperialist lackeys and reactionary agents hidden in the party are involved in the conspiracy to drift away in the party from the line of the Bangabandhu's Baksal programme and social progress towards the reactionary line. It has been possible because these national and international exploiters and agents of the rich and the merchant class have been able to use the Bangabandhu's daughter Sheikh Hasina to kill his ideology keeping her in front of them."

He said some people have amassed wealth through plunder, killing, hijacking, robbery and unlimited corruption in the name of politics under the patronisation of the ruling people. "Those identified enemies have divided the Bangabandhu's organisation from within and outside the party because of their rapacious greed and craving for power."

Holding them responsible for the current instability in the political and socio-economic atmosphere Mr. Razzak said our commitment is to resist and eliminate them from the political field.

In the 7-point programme Abdur Razzak demanded trial of the murder of the Bangabandhu and other leaders of the party on August 15 in 1975 and in the days following and establishment of the Bangabandhu with full status.

The party has demanded withdrawal of martial law, holding of parliamentary election under an interim government to be formed with the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people and repeal of all amendments to the constitution made "under martial law".

It also demanded separation of the judiciary from the executive structure, its phasewise decentralization and fair and quick trial of the cases along with constitutional guarantee for independence of judiciary and judges.

The programme includes a demand for lifting of restrictions, warrants of arrests and cases against those who went across the border for political reasons. Among them are Abdul Kader Siddiqui and Chittaranjan Sutar.

The party has announced its objective to continue with the policy of nationalising all investment making organisations including banks and insurance bodies and basic and heavy industries.

Mr Abdur Razzak said that his party demanded fixation of land ceiling up to 50 bighas and its reduction with the increase of production and development of water resources and construction of hydro-electric projects.

Abdur Razzak demanded agricultural credit for the flood and drought-affected peasants and cancellation of Matir Dak credit and suspension of the certificate system for a year.

Answering a question he said that in spite of their call to Sheikh Hasina Wazed for coming out of the grips of the conspirators she had continued with her activities against unity and ideology of the party, now it is not possible to work together, he added.

He said according to the constitution, the party will be steered by the collective leadership till the election of the president in the next council session. In fact Mr. Malek Ukil will perform the responsibility of the president, he added.

CSO: 4600/1024

NATIONALIST PARTY LEADER REPORTS ELECTION DEMANDS

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 5 Sep 83 pp 1, 8

[Text] Mr Shamsul Huda Choudhury, Chairman of Bangladesh Nationalist Party (Huda) yesterday reiterated the demand for presidential election before the Jatiyo Sangsad polls.

"The presidential election should be held immediately after the local body polls on the basis of the suspended constitution of 1982", he said.

Mr Huda was addressing the workers meeting of the city branch of Jatiyatabadi Mohila Dal at the DDSA auditorium last evening. Presided over by Dr Amina Rahman, president of Mohila Dal, the meeting was also addressed, among others, by Mr Reazuddin Ahmed, Senior Vice-President, and Dr M A Matin, Secretary General of the party; Mrs Kamrunnahar Jafar; Mrs Gulbadan, Mrs Azra Ali; S A Khalek, Mrs Parveen Manwar and Mrs Shahriar Akhtar Khan. Mrs Shamsi Rashid, President of the city BNP women branch, read out the address of welcome.

"We, on principle, believe in peaceful return to democracy," Mr Huda said, posing a question in the same breath, "but how long the people will have patience?"

He said it had become need of the hour to hold presidential and parliamentary elections and hand over power to the elected representatives of the people as soon as possible.

The BNP chief said, we were expressing concern at the attitude of India and her decision to build barbed wire fencing along the border, but if we were to protect the independence and sovereignty of the country we would have to take the people into confidence. "So, let us establish a people's government to save the country," he said.

He said politicking was going on in the country under the cover of non-political slogans. "But politics cannot be done through back door," he said.

Referring to his earlier suggestion to Begum Khaleda Zia, Mr Huda said that she did not listen to him and associated herself with the other faction of

the party (Sattar). "My firm belief is that her goodwill is being used by others for achieving their personal gains," he said.

Pointing out to Awami League's stand for secularism as a state principle, he said we had enough examples in the neighbouring country that by declaring a state secular, communal riots could not be stopped.

Mr Reazuddin Ahmed said, Major Zia (later President of the country) had given the call for liberation war also gave the call for economic emancipation of the people. But, he said, he was killed in a conspiracy, in which, he alleged, his close associates were also involved.

CSO: 4600/1020

CABINET AMENDS CODE OF CIVIL PROCEDURE

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 6 Sep 83 pp 1, 8

[Text] The Council of Ministers meeting under the Chairmanship of the Chief Martial Law Administrator Lt General H. M. Ershad late Sunday night, decided to amend the Code of Civil Procedure with a view to mitigating the sufferings of litigants, says a PID handout.

An Ordinance to this effect has been promulgated on Monday which will have the effect of disposing of most civil cases within a record time of about 12 months.

The question of taking measures for expeditious disposal of cases, both civil and criminal, has been engaging the attention of the Government ever since the Proclamation of the Martial Law. The sufferings of the litigant public knew no bounds due to inordinate delay in the trial of cases. Accused persons had to languish in hajat for years without trial and without any investigation even. Persons filing civil suits could not even anticipate when they would get the desired results.

The Government could not allow the sufferings of the litigant public to continue unabated. With a view to removing the causes of delay in the disposal of criminal and civil cases, certain concrete steps were taken by the Government on a priority basis. The Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, was amended within a short time after the promulgation of the Martial Law. By such amendment, time limits were prescribed for completion of investigation and trial of criminal cases. As a result, as many as 62,000 criminal cases have already been disposed of relieving a large number of people from agony and undue harassment.

After the successful experiment in the field of criminal procedure reforms, the Government diverted its attention to the reforms of civil procedure. In March 1983 a Commission was constituted with Mr Justice Mohammad Altaf Hossain, a Judge of the Supreme Court, and five eminent civil lawyers to recommend suitable amendments in the Code of Civil Procedure, 1908, with a view to removing causes of delay in the matter of disposal of civil cases and to suggesting other efficacious remedies for the removal of such causes of delay.

The Commission submitted its report in May 1983. The Government found the recommendations of the Commission acceptable and decided to implement the important and epoch-making amendments in the Code of Civil Procedure. It is expected that these amendments would go a long way in mitigating the sufferings of the litigants and restoring the confidence of the public in the judiciary.

The main changes brought about in the 70-year old law are as follows:

The delay in a civil litigation at present is caused at different stages: institution of suit, service of summons, filing of documents, filing of written statements, discovery and inspection, settlement of issues, fixing date of hearing, completion of hearing, delivering judgment, drawing up decrees, service of notice of appeal, execution of decrees, substitution of dead parties and submission of report of pleader commissioners. Remedial measures have been taken by this amendment to eliminate or minimise these causes of inordinate delay.

Formerly there was no limit to the time that could be given by a Court for filing court fees and submission of documents. Now there is no scope for granting this latitude. A Court may now allow time for filing all these requisites for a period not exceeding 21 days.

Summonses could not be served previously on many occasions because of their suppression. Nezarat was solely responsible for service of summons. As without proper service of summons, further proceedings of a suit could not be continued, the life of a civil litigation used to be prolonged due to delay at this stage. It has now been provided that the plaintiff must file at the time of presentation of his plaint the requisite number of summons together with pre-paid registered "acknowledgement due" covers with complete and correct address of the defendant written on them. Now summons shall be served through the Nezarat and by registered post. This will ensure proper service within the required time. The Court has been authorised to presume proper service of summons sent by post after one month from the date of despatch thereof.

As there was no effective restriction in respect of filing of documents at any stage of a civil proceeding necessary documents could be submitted before the Court at any stage of a case. This caused unnecessary delay in the disposal of a case because on the submission of a document by one party the other party used to take time to examine the documents. Now the delay at this stage has been curtailed. Under the new Ordinance documents relied upon by a plaintiff in support of his claim shall have to be produced before the Court at the time of presentation of the plaint. Similarly every defendant is also required to submit documents at the time of presentation of his written statement. If for any reason the documents are not in possession of the plaintiff or defendant concerned, the person with whom they are lying must be stated before the Court at the time of submission of plaint or written statement, as the case may be. If a party fails to produce such documents at the time of filing the plaint or written statement or has not mentioned about the person with whom they are lying, the party shall not be allowed to use such documents at the time of hearing of the suit.

Formerly a defendant could submit written statement long after the due-date because the Court could grant him time for filing such statement without any limit. Under the new law the Court may grant him time for submitting written statement for a maximum period of two months. A defendant must now file his written statement within two months of the date of the first hearing.

There was no time limit for framing of issues. As a result, the Court usually took a long time for framing issues which caused delay. Now under the amended law, issues must be framed within 18 days of submission of written statement. There used to be delay in delivering interrogatories also. The Court used to grant time for delivering of interrogatories liberally. By the new amendment a time limit has been prescribed for this. Now interrogatories may be delivered only within ten days from the date of framing of the issues and must also be answered within ten days.

Formerly there was no prescribed time within which the date for final hearing of a suit should be fixed. As a result adjournments used to be granted for fixing such date. Under the new dispensation, the date for final hearing of a suit must be fixed within 120 days from the date of framing of issues.

It was found that though the law discouraged adjournments at the stage of hearing of a suit, the courts granted several long adjournments in many cases. This caused harassment to the litigants. It has now been provided that every court must complete the hearing of a suit within 120 working days from the date fixed for final hearing. Adjournments may be granted within this period but not extending beyond this period.

There was also no time limit for pronouncement of judgement after the completion of hearing. Under the amending law, a judgement must be pronounced within seven days from the conclusion of the hearing of a suit.

A Court may frame several issues in one suit. When a preliminary issue decides the fate of a suit, other issues are not usually determined. As a result, when on appeal, the decision of the trial Court on preliminary issue is reversed, the suit is sent back for trial on other issues. This prolonged the life of a civil litigation. In order to remove this cause of delay, it has now been provided that every Court must decide all issues framed by it even though the suit might be disposed of on a decision upon any one of the issues.

There used to be delay in drawing up of decrees. Now by the new amendment, decrees must be drawn up within seven days from the date pronouncement of the judgement.

One of the important causes of delay in a suit is the necessity for substitution of the legal representatives of deceased defendants. In a suit having a large number of defendants, this substitution used to create a stumbling block in the smooth progress of the suit. Now this difficulty has been removed. The plaintiff no longer is required to substitute the legal representatives of deceased defended who has not filed written



statement or who having filed it has failed to appear and contest the suit at the hearing.

In many suits, pleader commissioners are required to be appointed. When such commissioners are appointed, the Court must wait till the report of the commissioner is received. Previous experience shows that pleader commissioners require adjournment after adjournment for submission of their reports. To discourage delayed submission of reports, it has now been provided that a Court may grant a pleader commissioner not more than three months time to submit his report and this time may be extended only in exceptional circumstances.

Formerly there was no provision for service of notice on the respondent in an appeal through post and the services made through the Nezarat of the lower court were often found to be defective. Now provision has been made for simultaneous service of notice of the date of hearing of an appeal by registered post.

Formerly the District Judges and the High Court Division had concurrent power of revision. The High Court Division also had the power of revision in respect of a decision given by a District Judge on revision. This procedure of revision proved to be one of the causes of protracting litigation. The new amendment has done away with this procedure and vested the High Court Division with exclusive power of revision.

It is well known that the difficulties of a litigant often begin when he has obtained a decree. The delay at the stage of execution of a decree is generally caused by the objections filed by the judgement debtor either directly or through third parties. Section 47 of the Code of Civil Procedure is generally invoked by the judgement debtor in his attempt to frustrate the decree. The decree holder is thus denied the fruit of his decree. In order to allow the decree to be executed expeditiously, section 47 has been omitted in the new Ordinance.

CSO: 4600/1022

## FINANCE MINISTER'S SPEECH AT BANK INAUGURATION

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 1 Sep 83 pp 5, 6

[Text of address of Mr A. M. A. Muhith, minister for finance and planning, at the inaugural function of the IFIC Bank Ltd in Dhaka on 19 August 1983]

[Text]

WE have assembled here for the formal inauguration of IFIC Bank today. This bank has been in existence for almost eight years having been chartered in 1976. However, during this period, the character of the bank changed somewhat. The bank was originally expected to do business abroad and in Bangladesh it was permitted to do merchant banking. Since June this year, it is also functioning as a commercial bank in Bangladesh. There is another change in the character of the bank and that is transfer of a larger share in the ownership of the bank to the private sector.

Since this bank is the only bank which was set up as a merchant bank in the country I thought I would like to dwell a little on merchant banking. Merchant banking is a typical British institution. They carry out all banking functions and they enshrine in their operations the close relationship between trade and investment. It is strange that in the sub-continent though banking has been a British innovation we did not develop a tradition of merchant banking. I have asked many bankers as to why banking developed in our country in the manner it has. I believe one can attempt an explanation. When modern banking institutions came into existence in the sub-continent it was a colony and people with

money were interested only in trading. The bankers, therefore confined their activities to deposit mobilization and using the funds for trading purposes. Investment really did not get any help from the banking system. After partition of this country when investment received the attention it deserves we opted for establishment of specialised institutions. We got Industrial Development Banks, House Building Finance Corporation, Agricultural Credit Institutions, even institutions for small industries. As a result, commercial banks desisted from undertaking term financing. The circumstances under which British banking system evolved were very different. When Bank of England was chartered in 1664, British entrepreneurs were not only expanding trade but also promoting investment. The workers and factors of Moscovite Company were instructed by the Board of Directors to promote trade and investment. They were told that to develop trading in cloth they should teach people of distant lands to wear cloth, then to produce cotton and then to process cloth. Thus trade expansion depended on expansion of investment. British banking institutions, therefore, gave equal importance to commercial transactions as well as investment proposals. Our commercial banks, however, are in-

involved essentially in commercial activities. They finance trade, particularly export and import trade; they provide working capital for both trade and industry, they are also involved in agricultural credit which is primarily short term, they do house building financing as well as financing of transport equipment where medium term lending is involved; and they are providing other small financial services like collection of rates and payment of dues on behalf of their clients. One reason why they avoid term financing is because it is not prudent to borrow short and lend long. I would, however, underscore an important point for private sector banks. It is learnt that they are demonstrating special interest in securing current accounts but are not serving clients who are more interested in fixed deposits. This is not a good business tactic and clients should not be discouraged.

While talking about trade and investment I think I should bring up another issue which is of great importance to this economy. It seems to me that as a nation we demonstrate very great interest in trade and considerably less interest in investment. It is true that an entrepreneur can move towards investment through the trade channel. Profits in trade are likely to be more but at the same time trading is an

area saddled with great risks. It is quite natural in trade to make large profits today and go bankrupt tomorrow. It is for this reason that traders gradually turn into industrialists. They invest their surplus in productive activities. Unfortunately this tradition is rather weak in Bangladesh. And the main reason why trading is preferred to the exclusion of investment is that risk taking in trade in this country is virtually absent. Our society as well as our government is very sympathetic towards trade; we do not like a trader to go bankrupt. A trader is involved in some import activity and suffers a loss. Usually the government comes up with various measures to bail him out. In another case the trader suffers loss because of change in the market price but then he takes advantage of a protective market and fleeces the consumer. There is no consumer resistance to trading profiteering. I believe such a situation could not be permitted to continue for the sake of the good health of the economy. In order to add to the wealth of the nation trading surplus must move into industrial investment. The society or the government is under no obligation to prevent bankruptcies of traders or trading houses. We should not subsidize risk taking by trade. A few bankruptcies may very well engender a climate for investment.

I am often asked one question and that is whether we are not having too many banks in the country. This is a good question and I believe the matter deserves careful consideration. The question emanates from our perception of banks in this country. We find that our banks generally have large number of branches, they have high level officials and mostly they occupy some of the best buildings. This gives an impression that banks have to operate on a large scale in order to survive. I believe this is a rather wrong impression, even though banks all over the world are associated with large buildings. In every capital you will find that

some of the best building belong to banks, some of the most well-paid executive are bank officials and executive. Dining rooms of banks are gorgeous. Yet banks can be perceived as small money shops like the all-purpose Corner-store. In 1930 there was a great crash of banks in the United States and over 1300 banks failed but the number was less than one-fourth of the total number of banks which were then operating in the United States. The primary purpose of a bank is to mobilize idle money and then use it judiciously in various monetary transactions. Depositors funds must be carefully deployed so that the depositors can get fair return and the bank also can keep a reasonable margin. The investments must be good, lending operations must be carefully done so that the borrower uses money properly and returns it according to schedule. The services that they provide to clients must be adequate and it must be provided at a charge that remains attractive to clients. Here the quality of service is important in order to retain as well as draw clients. The overhead costs have to be minimal so that a bank can make profits without charging exorbitant service charges and at the same time providing good returns to the depositors. It is in this context that I would like to refer to the present leap-frogging practice that is developing in the area of compensation for higher executives in private sector banks. Undue expansion in overhead costs will create problems for the banks. Otherwise provision of good services, earnest mobilization of deposits and efficient but small scale operations can surely sustain a fairly large number of banks in this country.

Finally, I would like to touch upon another related subject. We often notice that in various activities we dumbly follow any good lead. We make our investment decisions on the spur of the moment and once we move into one line of production there is a mad

rush. We do booming business for a while and then seek government intervention for sheer survival. In the area of investment our entrepreneurs always flock to beaten tracks and then saturate the individual sub-sector. When we start investment in cold storages we move with such strength that we soon end up with excess capacity. Other examples of such saturation in investment are Jute Twine industry or Jute Carpet industry. These are areas for private initiative and our emphasis on the private sector is really to allow individual initiative to flourish fully. But order to flourish well private sector must make rational and prudent decisions. Now and then we are asked to intervene in sectors where full freedom has been given to private initiative in order to ensure that investment growth is balanced. This to me appears to be an undesirable move. Private entrepreneurship does not simply refer to efficiency of management but it also means wise investment decisions. It is incumbent on the private sector to assess existing capacity and market prospects before making any investment decision. It is wrong on their part to expect government intervention for controlling investment or forbidding out unprofitable ventures. Private sector has to be dynamic in seeking and developing markets for various production activities. It is important that an investment is not only least costly but also appropriate in time. Investment must seek the least cost solution and at the same time it must come up speedily before the market is captured by others. This is a problem we face also as a nation. If we are thinking of export-led growth we have to be conscious of the fact that for capturing export market speed is of essence. You have to capture a market before it is saturated by others. I would like to stress once again, and that is applicable to both public and private sectors, that excellence in management, no doubt is essential but equally important is prudence of investment decision. While the

public sector has the advantage or disadvantage of government control, the private sector where it is left free should not rush to the government, with request for imposition of controls. Administrative control strains individual initiative and it is conducive to corruption. It should not be invoked simply because individual investment decisions have been wrong.

The IFIC is involved also in a diplomatic activity. It is keeping our flag high in Maldives and the Chairman has already indicated such possibilities in Kuwait and Oman. We are also trying to do something in Nepal. I believe with acceleration in activities at home the bank will get a fillip to do more abroad. I have been fortunate in participating in one of their pioneering activities in Maldives a year ago. And I feel

very happy to be here again to see their activities flourishing in the country. I would like to take this opportunity to pay tributes to the original sponsors and organisers who have sustained this bank during the last eight years and helped it in establishing its identity. I wish the bank continued prosperity and success.  
(Reproduced from extempore speech).

CSO: 4600/1016

COMMUNICATIONS MINISTER SPEAKS AT DPRK FRIENDSHIP EVENT

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 3 Sep 83 p 1

[Text] Deputy Chief Martial Law Administrator and Minister for Communication Rear Admiral M A Khan on Friday said that the relations between Bangladesh and Democratic People's Republic of Korea will grow still closer on the basis of friendship and mutual cooperation in the coming days, reports BSS.

Speaking as chief guest at a function of Bangladesh and Korea Friendship Association, the Minister mentioned that during his visit to DPR of Korea he was accorded warm welcome and found generous hospitality which was most heartwarming and profoundly demonstrated that goodwill and friendship which the people of Korea have for the people of Bangladesh.

During his visit the Minister met President Kim Il Sung who appreciated the development programmes of the Government in the context of prevailing situation in Bangladesh and lauded the 18-point programme launched by present govt under the dynamic leadership of Gen. Ershad and fully supported its effective implementation.

He said that President Kim Il Sung whole-heartedly agreed with the objective of present Government that political freedom is meaningless without economic independence and self-reliance.

He informed President Kim Il Sung of striking similarity between Bangladesh present policy of self-reliance and basic principles of his "juche idea". The DCMLA said he had also extended an invitation to President Kim Il Sung from Gen. Ershad to visit Bangladesh.

The Korean Ambassador speaking on the occasion, wished more closer relationship with Bangladesh and his country. The President of the Bangladesh-Korea Friendship Association, Mr. O. G. Aimeri, also spoke on the occasion.

CSO: 4600/1018

# JSD NATIONAL COMMITTEE STRIPS CHIEF OF POWERS

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 31 Aug 83 pp 1, 8

[Text] The National Committee of Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal Tuesday stripped its party chief Maj (Retd) M. A. Jalil of all powers including the rights to make statement in an unprecedented move that observers characterised as putting a politician in quarantine.

The National Committee voted 52-18 to take decision at the end of a four-day debate which appeared to widen the gap between the two factions of the party.

When contacted Maj (Retd) Jalil would not say anything beyond the suggestion that the central office would issue a Press release.

According to party sources Maj (Retd) M. A. Jalil would remain a titular head of the party and would not be able to make any speech or statement or talk to party members and leave the city without prior permission of the central committee till the next council session planned for next December.

The dramatic turn of events, said observers, are bound to split the party with students' factions taking sides of the President and the General Secretary respectively.

The climax came on Monday night as three party leaders, Messrs Golam Ershadur Rahman of Netrokona Kudrat-e-Khuda of Satkhira and Khalquzzaman Choudhury of Dhaka City JSD moved a joint resolution ensuring the JSD chief for making statements that "undermined party's image."

As the resolution was being debated, students workers supporting the President and the General Secretary respectively faced each other outside the party office.

As soon as rickshaws carrying about 40 hockey sticks reached the spot near a restaurant opposite Ramna Bhaban, police seized them before they could be distributed. Police also prevented each side from going near the other.

Opponents of Maj (Retd) Jalil tried to get through a resolution expelling the party chief but it could not be approved. Later after night-long

debate, the National Committee members, who numbered about 100 on Friday and reduced to 85 on Tuesday, decided on the 'face saving formula' of freezing the authority of the party chief.

The National Committee, however, skipped the thorny issues of charges and countercharges against seven party leaders including party founder-theoritician Mr Sirajul Alam Khan, Maj (Retd) M A Jalil and General Secretary Mr A S M Abdur Rab. Among others, the charges included 'misuse of party funds', taking of money from non-organisational sources, etc.

CSO: 4600/1014

SENIOR OFFICIALS TO SUPERVISE UPAZILLA FUNCTIONING

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 14 Sep 83 p 1

[Article by Kazi Montu]

[Text] The government has decided to utilize the services of the senior central officers for proper implementation of various programmes in the upazillas.

The Cabinet Division has prepared a schedule of regular visits of the upazillas by 197 senior officials including Secretaries, additional secretaries and joint secretaries.

According to the schedule, 30 officers have been allotted three upazillas each, 134 officers two upazillas each and 31 officers one upazilla each for the direct supervision of the upazillas by them.

The new schedule has been made in supersession of the previous schedule which provided for supervision of 100 upazillas initially upgraded from the thana-level by senior officers.

These officers will have to visit each of their respective upazilla allotted to them at least thrice a year and take follow-up action directly with the concerned agencies to resolve any problem that may be identified during their visits.

Besides, they have been instructed to regularly monitor the various activities of the upazillas as a normal course of business and work out effective steps for over all development of the upazillas.

According to another directive by the Cabinet Division, these officers will have to take up the assignment with all seriousness and send reports on their visits to the Cabinet Division.

Meanwhile, these senior officials have received a check list each which shows the areas to be covered by them during their field visits for proper supervision and monitoring of progress of activities in the upazillas.

According to the check list, these officers will enquire as to whether the 9 registers are properly maintained as per directive of the CMLA, whether



all officers and employees have joined and ascertain the number of officers yet to be posted.

The other enquiries relate to accommodation, communication, upazilla magistracy, law and order situation, fund position, functioning of upazilla parishad, upazilla development plan, execution of development programmes of various departments, livestock and fishery, other public utilities, health and public health, agriculture and input supply, food and essential commodities, family planning, delegation of authority, compliance of orders by the ministries and divisions and public grievances.

CSO: 4600/1026

SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY PANEL TO FORMULATE GUIDELINES

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 5 Sep 83 pp 1, 8

[Article by Kazi Montu]

[Text] The government is considering various steps in the field of science and technology for a rapid economic transformation of the country.

It is learnt that preparation is underway to evolve a national policy of science and technology with a view to creating an organisational structure of science and technology.

Meanwhile, a National Science and Technology Committee has been constituted to assist the government in formulating guidelines and taking decisions as to proper application of science and technology.

The scientist members of the committee recently met with DCMLA Air Vice Marshal Sultan Mahmud in the chair to make proposals and identify projects for consideration of the first full-fledged meeting of the committee to be held shortly.

The committee has suggested to the authorities to improve the working atmosphere of the scientists and ensure them adequate facilities to attain success in their respective fields thus discouraging them from leaving the country.

According to the committee the Government is required to make contact with the talented Bangladeshi scientists working abroad.

It is learnt that a national energy committee is likely to be set up under the National Science and Technology Committee in order to strengthen research on energy as 70 per cent of the energy consumed in the country is obtained from the non-commercial sources.

Besides, another proposal is under consideration of the government relating to the formation of a permanent task force to handle matters relating to the procurement of technology from abroad, a source informed.

Arrangement is being contemplated for processing of the important secret data obtained through survey and study of different projects in view of

the risk involved in computer analysis of the data abroad. It has been suggested that the government should earmark at least 40 per cent of total allocation for expenditure of research works of a research organisation and 60 per cent on account of its establishment cost.

Now the major portion of the total allocation for an organisation meets just the salary of its scientists and only 10-15 per cent is spent on research.

The science and technology committee has suggested that facilities of research at the doctorate level in the country be raised considering the huge expenses involved in obtaining a doctorate degree from a foreign country. According to an estimate the total cost of getting a doctorate degree in the USA is about Tk. 12 lakhs and it comes to about Tk. 8 lakhs in Britain while a sum of Tk. 2 or 3 lakhs is enough to obtain a doctorate degree in the country.

A suggestion has been made for the adoption of a liberal policy for participation of the Bangladeshi scientists at international conferences and meetings for exchange of views with the foreign scientists which largely contribute to the success of local research works.

The committee also resolved that the decisions taken at the Vienna science and technology conference in 1979 for the developing countries are required to be implemented in Bangladesh.

CSO: 4600/1020

## NATIONAL COMPUTER COMMITTEE FORMED, MISSION TOLD

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 31 Aug 83 p 3

[Text] The government has constituted an 11-member national computer committee with Major General Mahabbat Jan Chowdhury, Minister for Establishment and Reorganisation as Chairman to formulate strategy and policy guidelines for development of computer technology in the country says a PID handout.

The other members of the committee are Major General Mozammel Hossain, PSO to C-in-C; Dr. A. M. Patwari, Vice Chancellor, BUET and President, Bangladesh Computer Society; M. Mujibul Haq, member (Programming), Planning Commission; M. Saiduzzaman, Secretary, Finance Division; Dr. A. K. M. Golam Robbani, Secretary, Statistics Division; S. B. Chowdhury, Secretary, IRD and Chairman NBR; Dr. Anwar Hossain, Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission; Brig. Khaled Amirul Karim, Director, Signals, Army Headquarters; M F A Siddiqui, President, Bangladesh Institution of Engineers, and Col Anwar Hossain Chowdhury, Colonel, Staff Implementation, CMLA Secretariat.

Col. Anwar Hossain Chowdhury has been made member-Secretary of the committee.

The terms of reference of the committee are: (a) Formulation of strategy and policy guidelines for promotion and systematic transfer and development of computer technology in the country; (b) identification and selection of application areas and fixation of their priorities; (c) formulation of action plan for developing necessary trained manpower; (d) formulation of policy guidelines for (i) procurement and installation of hardware and industry; (iii) ensuring optimum utilization of hardware particularly the main frames; (iv) promotion of higher training and research in the field of computer science and its applications; (v) control and supervision of private sector training activities; (vi) promotion and development of requisite infrastructural facilities for rapid computerization; (vii) after-sale service and maintenance by the manufacturers/suppliers; (viii) allocation of resources for promotion and maintenance of hardware; (ix) procurement of spare parts and supplies for computer equipment and related infrastructural facilities; (x) providing assistance to the prospective users in respect of Configuration; software and system development; (xi) improvement and harmonization of emoluments and other service conditions of computer personnel in the country; (xii) computer activity at national, regional and international level.

The committee may co-opt such other members as may be required for efficient discharge of its functions.

It may also form separate sub-committee and working groups consisting of users and computer experts in hardware, software and system development.

The committee may also undertake any other activity on computerization as may be required in the interest of public service.

CSO: 4600/1012

BRIEFS

**IDL CHAIRMAN RESIGNS**—Chairman of Bangladesh Islamic Democratic League Moulana Abdur Rahim has resigned from the post of the party chairmanship on health ground. A meeting of the central executive committee of the party held on Sunday discussed the resignation letter of Moulana Rahim and approved it. The meeting was presided over by Moulana Abdus Sobhan, Secretary General of IDL. On consultation with Moulana Rahim the meeting temporarily appointed Moulana Sobhan as the Chairman of the party, a Press release said on Sunday. The meeting also formed an 11-member preparatory committee for holding national council of the party in October next with Mr Abul Kashem as its convener. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 5 Sep 83 p 1]

**IDB FINANCING**—Bahrain, Aug 27: The Islamic Development Bank said it signed an agreement today to grant the Bangladesh Shipping Corporation an interest-free loan equivalent to 10.4 million dollars, reports Reuter. The loan, to be used to buy a ship, brings to 78 million dollars the financing for Bangladesh provided by the Jeddah-based Bank. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 28 Aug 83 p 1]

**ENVOY TO BELIZE**—The Government has decided to concurrently accredit Mr Humayun Rasheed Chowdhury, at present Ambassador of Bangladesh to the United States of America, as Bangladesh High Commissioner to Belize, it was officially announced in Dhaka on Monday night, reports BSS. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 31 Aug 83 p 3]

**AMBASSADOR TO EGYPT**—Mr Abdulaziz Moustafa el-Quadi has been appointed ambassador of Arab Republic of Egypt to Bangladesh, it was officially announced here, reports BSS. Born on May 26, 1927, Mr Quadi did his Bachelor of Law from Cairo University. He served in Egyptian missions in Addis Ababa, Bern, Djibouti and Nigeria. Prior to his present assignment, he was Deputy Director of National Service Department. Mr Quadi obtained the Egyptian Order of el Gomhouria. He is married and has one son. [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 10 Sep 83 p 3]

**JAPANESE ENVOY'S CREDENTIALS**—The new ambassador of Japan to Bangladesh Mr. Shunji Kobayashi, presented his credentials to the President, Mr. Justice Ahsanuddin Chowdhury, at Bangabhaban here yesterday morning, reports BSS. Presenting his credentials, the envoy said that he would strive his best

to maintain and promote the relations of friendship and understanding between his country and Bangladesh to the mutual benefit of both the nations. The envoy conveyed the cordial wishes from the Emperor of Japan to the President for his happiness and also for the prosperity of Bangladesh. The President reciprocated the sentiments expressed by the envoy and hoped that Bangladesh and Japan would through their joint efforts be able to further extend their mutually beneficial cooperation in different fields in the years to come. He expressed satisfaction at the steady development of friendly relations between the two countries and appreciated the substantial assistance extended by Japan to Bangladesh in executing her various nation-building programmes. [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 8 Sep 83 p 3]

KAUNDA VISIT PLANNED--Zambian President Dr. Kenneath Kaunda is likely to visit Bangladesh either before or after the Commonwealth summit to be held in Delhi, in November next. The two governments are now in touch with each other to prepare the tour programme of the Zambian leader. An Official announcement is expected when the programme is finalised by both the governments. Dr. Kenneath Kaunda, who will be the first Zambian head of state to visit Dhaka, is to visit the Indian capital to attend the forthcoming Commonwealth conference. Queen Elizabeth II and her husband, the Duke of Edinburgh, will visit Bangladesh before the Delhi summit while Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau will visit Dhaka after the conference. [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 7 Sep 83 p 1]

AUSTRIAN AMBASSADOR'S CREDENTIALS--The new Ambassador of Austria to Bangladesh, Dr. Erich Maximilian Schmid, presented his credentials to the President, Mr Justice A F M Ahsanuddin Chowdhury, at the Bangabhaban Tuesday morning, says a PID handout. The envoy presenting his credentials said that he would strive his best to maintain and promote the existing relations of mutual understanding and friendship between his country and Bangladesh to the mutual benefit of both the nations. Earlier on arrival at the Bangabhaban, the envoy took a salute presented by a smartly turned-out contingent of the President's Guard Regiment and inspected the Guards. [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 15 Sep 83 p 3]

TIES WITH TUVALU--Governments of Bangladesh and Tuvalu have decided to establish diplomatic relations at Ambassadorial level from today (Monday) to develop the friendly and cooperative relations between the two countries, it was officially announced in Dhaka on Sunday, reports BSS. The announcement said Bangladesh would maintain diplomatic relations with Tuvalu through concurrent accreditation of one of its Ambassadors, High Commissioners from a nearby resident mission. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 29 Aug 83 p 12]

PRC JUTE PURCHASE--China will buy raw jute worth Taka 23 crores from Bangladesh Jute Export Corporation and the China National Native Produce and Animal By-products Import and Export Corporation in Dhaka on Sunday, reports BSS. According to the contract, China will import 30,000 metric tons (equivalent to 1,65,600 bales) of raw jute worth Taka 23 crores from Bangladesh. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 29 Aug 83 p 12]

**FOREIGN EXCHANGE UP**--The foreign exchange reserve of the country increased by about 53 per cent over the past four-and-a-half months. According to official sources, the foreign exchange reserve which was Taka 603.53 crore on March 31 last increased to Taka 926.67 crore on August 19. On June 30, 1982 the total foreign exchange reserve was only Taka 239.68 crore. Deposits, both time and demand, with the scheduled banks increased by over Taka 643 crore during past five months ending on August 19, 1983. The total deposits with the scheduled banks on August 19 last stood at Taka 4,844 crore. During past five months credit provided by the scheduled banks expanded by over Taka 207 crores. Of the total credit distributed by the banks included Taka 210 crore spent for the purchase and discounting of inland and foreign bills. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 31 Aug 83 p 1]

**JUSTICE CHOUDHURY REMOVED**--Mr Justice Abdur Rahman Choudhury, Supreme Court Judge of the High Court Division, has been removed from service by an order of the Chief Martial Law Administrator recently, it is reliably learnt. The order came into force with immediate effect. [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 5 Sep 83 p 1]

**CHILEAN AMBASSADOR'S CREDENTIALS**--The Ambassador of Chile to Bangladesh, Mr. Tomas Vasquez Flores, presented his credentials to President Mr. Justice Ahsanuddin Chowdhury at the Bangabhaban Dhaka on Monday morning, reports BSS. Presenting his credentials, the Chilean Envoy said that the relations between his country and Bangladesh were based on mutual understanding and friendship between Bangladesh and Chile and added that he would strive his best to promote the relations between the two countries further to the mutual benefit of both the countries. President Mr. Justice Ahsanuddin Chowdhury reciprocated the sentiments expressed by the Envoy and expressed his hope that Bangladesh and Chile would continue to develop mutually beneficial cooperation in various fields in the years to come. He wished the President of Chile good health, happiness and long life and the people of Chile greater progress and prosperity. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 30 Aug 83 p 12]

**AID FROM JAPAN**--Bangladesh will receive a grant of yen 300 million (approximately Tk. 2.88 crore) from Japan for improvement of power transmission and distribution systems in the country, reports BSS. The grant, to come under an exchange of notes signed in Dhaka on Tuesday will be utilized by Bangladesh Power Development Board for procurement of telescopic steel tubular poles and cross arms from Japan. Mr K M Rabbani, Additional Secretary, External Resources Division, and Mr M Okubo, Japanese Charge d'Affaires, signed the exchange of notes for their respective governments. The grant will be disbursed within March 31, 1984. A similar grant of yen 500 million (approximately Tk. 4.24 crore) and yen 400 million (approximately Tk. 3.39 crore) was extended by Japan in 1981 and 1982 respectively for the same purpose. Japan has maintained a steady level of aid to Bangladesh and with the signing of the present exchange of notes their total grant assistance reaches approximately Taka 691 crore since 1971. In addition Bangladesh has received approximately Taka 2034 crore as commodity and project loans since 1973. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 31 Aug 83 p 1]



RIGID CONTROL SAID TO BLOCK JAPANESE INVESTMENTS

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 12 Sep 83 p 13

[Text] New Delhi, September 11 (PTI): Rigid governmental control is standing in the way of massive Japanese investment in India, says a Japanese expert on the Indian economy.

Dr. Shoji Ito, who studied the experience of 21 Indo-Japanese collaborations by 16 Japanese companies, said six collaborations did not materialise because of severe restrictions.

Dr. Ito said the transfer of technology, a part of the collaborations, was always done on a commercial basis, and unless India was willing to make concessions, foreign counterparts were likely to invest elsewhere.

India should identify areas where the import of technology is advantageous and then be liberal on those specific cases, Dr. Ito told PTI.

Dr. Ito is here to take part in a dialogue on "technology transfer: the Japanese experience," being held under the auspices of the institute of developing economies, Tokyo, and programme on peace and global transformation, Delhi.

Dr. Ito said the Indian restrictions limiting the period of collaboration, transfer of royalty and payment to Japanese experts were unacceptable to many Japanese ventures.

Dr. Ito said Japan was willing to sell technology on direct cash terms to India as his country did not feel that Indian products would be able to edge out Japanese products in the world market.

Dr. Ito and his colleagues said they were impressed by the "excellent" performance of India's private sector.

Liberalisation of industrial policy to enable the private sector to produce more could make Indian products competitive in the world market, Dr. Ito added.

CSO: 4600/1005

## BRITISH OFFER TO AID STEEL PLANT MODERNIZATION TOLD

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 8 Sep 83 p 9

[Text]

NEW DELHI, September 7  
(PTI).

THE United Kingdom has offered to extend financial assistance to the tune of 250 million pounds for modernisation of the Durgapur steel plant, the British minister for industry and information technology, Mr. Kenneth Baker, disclosed here today.

After a visit to the plant, Mr. Baker told newsmen here today that the British government was ready and willing to assist the modernisation of the project over a period of five years. According to him, the rolling mills of the plant, among other things, needed modernisation.

Asked about the size of the British credit, the visiting minister said it depended on the extent of modernisation and the speed with which it could be accomplished. His country was prepared to invest 250 million pounds in the British-aided plant, he said.

Mr. Baker said his government would gift two rural electronic telephone exchanges with 500 lines capa-

city each, for use during the meeting of the Commonwealth heads of government here in November this year.

The exchanges would be located in Goa where the Commonwealth heads of government would have "retreat."

The British minister held detailed discussion with the minister of state for communications, Mr. V. N. Gadgil, on the question of transfer of technology in the field of communications. The British company, Plessey, which is manufacturing the digital telephone exchanges had offered to set up a factory in India, he said.

India and the U.K. have agreed to make sustained efforts to improve bilateral trade in a balanced manner, according to an official release.

The bilateral trade was discussed when Mr. Baker, called on the commerce minister, Mr. V. P. Singh, today.

Mr. Singh said that the balance of trade could be maintained by pitching the total trade turnover at a higher level and not necessarily by reducing imports from the U.K.

CSO: 4600/1003

## BRIEFS

INVITATIONS TO PRC--The West Bengal Chief Minister, Mr Jyoti Basu, and the Urban Development Minister, Mr Prasanta Sur, have been invited to visit China for two weeks between April and June next year, reports PTI. The invitation was extended to the two CPI-M leaders and their wives by the chairman of the Chinese Peoples Association of Friendship with Foreign Countries, Mr Wang Bing-nan. Dr Bejoy Bose of the Indo-China Friendship Association, who has just returned from China, brought the invitation letter. He called on Mr Saroj Mukherjee, secretary of the State unit of the CPI-M on Wednesday and handed over the letter. Mr Mukherjee told reporters that he had informed the Chief Minister of the invitation. [Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 8 Sep 83 p 1]

ELECTIONS HELD LIKELY--Bhubaneswar, Sept. 11.--Mr Biju Patnaik, M.P., and president of the Orissa unit of the Janata Party feels that Mrs Gandhi may opt for a snap Lok Sabha poll in February-March, one year before schedule. He has therefore, directed the district units of the Janata Party to complete the selection of the party's candidates for the Lok Sabha election by the end of October so that the selected candidates get enough time to meet the challenge of the Congress (I). In a circular to district presidents and members of the party's executive committee, Mr Patnaik said: "It appears that the Congress (I) is preparing for Parliamentary elections in February-March, 1984" and hence the Janata Party's candidates for the election should be selected early to allow them enough time for preparations in order to put up an effective fight against the Congress (I) candidates. [Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 12 Sep 83 p 1]

KASHMIR PARTY MERGER--Srinagar, Sept. 11.--Mr Ali Mohammad Shahnaz, president of the Awami National Conference, today announced his party's merger with the Congress (I), according to a PCC (I) Press release, reports PTI. He made the announcement at a party workers' convention at Waterhail in Badgam, 25 km from here. Mufti Mohammad Sayed, president of the PCC (I), who was present at the convention, admitted Mr Shahnaz and his workers into the party, the release added. Mr Shahnaz had contested the June 5 election as a rebel National Conference candidate from Badgam and Khansahib constituencies of Badgam district, but lost in both. [Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 12 Sep 83 p 9]

CSO: 4600/1006

## PAKISTANI NEWSPAPER URGES IRAQ TO MEET IRANIAN DEMANDS

GF061157 Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 24 Sep 83 p 4

## [Editorial]

[Text] Exactly three years after it began, the Iraq-Iran war continues to smoulder, flaming forth now and again into fierce combat. It has already taken a staggering toll of life, laid waste many towns and cities and caused the destruction of vital industrial installations. The Iraqi leadership must be rueing the day when they ordered their armed forces to invade the Islamic Republic of Iran. Presumably their calculation must have been that a short, swift campaign would bring down the fledgling regime in Iran which was then passing through the turmoil of post-revolutionary reconstruction. In this grandiose design Iraq was almost certainly egged on by some other powers who too wished to see an end to the new Iranian Republic whose Islamic appeal and anti-imperialist thrust were causing them nightmares. But that dream soon lay splintered in the burning sand of Khuzestan.

After some initial successes, such as usually attend a sneak attack, Iraq found itself fighting a rear guard action in the face of a spirited Iranian onslaught. Armed with a new revolutionary creed and determined to expel the invaders from their sacred soil, the Iranian armed forces, backed up by battalions of do-or-die volunteers, put up a valiant fight that sent the Iraqis reeling back. In spite of massive use of firepower, merciless bombing of civilians and enormous economic aid from friendly states, the Iraqis suffered reverse after bitter reverse and are now back from where they started, with only a few isolated tracts of Iranian territory remaining in their hands. For the Iranians it has been a hard and heroic campaign, having to fight for every town and hamlet, and sometimes from house to house, to achieve their objective.

In this epic struggle, Iran has stood practically alone, neither soliciting nor receiving sympathy or succour from any quarter. With a couple of noble exceptions, states across the globe have shown lamentable reluctance to denounce Iraq for violating the 1975 agreement with Iran and embarking on unprovoked aggression. Even those vociferous champions of freedom and human rights who have set up such a fearful pothole over the downing of a South Korean airliner, which was arguably on a spying mission, have chosen to keep mum over a massive exercise in aggression that has led to hundreds of thousands of casualties. Most dismaying of all is the attitude of the Organisation of

Islamic Conference whose members have confined themselves to mere expressions of concern and have failed to muster courage to condemn the aggressor, an omission that has understandably caused their mediation efforts to run into sand. It is axiomatic that only an objective and principled approach can crown any peacemaking efforts with success.

Baghdad has lately been trying to give the impression that it is ready to end the war. Cessation of hostilities would certainly be in its interest because in a prolonged war of attrition Iran, with its superior manpower and material resources, is bound to emerge victorious. But Iraq has yet to give a practical demonstration of its sincerity. As things stand, it is still clinging to scattered pockets of Iranian territory; it continues to rain bombs and rockets on innocent civilians; and most serious of all, it is now threatening to use Exocet missiles, freshly acquired from a neo-imperialist socialist France, to destroy Iranian oil installations and choke up its oil exports. These are hardly the actions of a repentant party sincerely searching for peace.

The Iranian leader Imam Khomeyni, has just served notice that if the Exocet missiles are pressed into service, Iran would retaliate by snarling up the entire oil traffic in the Gulf. This is no idle threat. The Ayatollah, unlike the general run of politicians, is a man of his word and all those still backing Iraq, morally and materially, should take heed of this warning. Those who genuinely seek an end to the war, which again threatens to escalate into a wider and more damaging conflict, should waste no time in prevailing upon Baghdad to put away its Exocets, vacate all occupied territory without further fuss, and agree to pay an adequate war indemnity to Iran.

CSO: 4600/38

# BUREAUCRACY BREEDING INCREASING CRIME, ECONOMIC DISASTER

Karachi AMN in Urdu 3 Sep 83 p 2

[Excerpt] An important and responsible government official says that the general law and order situation is improving. But if we examine the situation, this statement appears to be a dangerous and terrible falsehood. People know full well that the state of law and order in the country is going from bad to worse. Everywhere from big cities to small towns and villages and rural areas incidents of banditry are on the rise. The extortion of hundreds of thousands of rupees by taking children hostage is rampant. Fear of thieves disturbs the peace and tranquility of people not only in rural areas but even in cities. In rural areas, people work hard during the day but at night they cannot sleep in peace. In many areas thieves have become so bold that there are instances of their brandishing firearms, sticks and axes in broad daylight and carrying away property or cattle.

The victims, unable to get justice, wander about the streets of cities, towns and villages carrying the holy Koran on their head in the hope that this demonstration of protest will enable them to recover their stolen property. But these exercises prove futile. In some cities and villages it has become a common practice for thieves and rogues to enter people's homes, overpower the men and dishonor their wives and daughters in front of them. Because of the complications of police procedure and because of the cunningness of the thieves and bad characters, and because of fear of red tape, people avoid registering such cases with the police. Out of fear for their lives and property, newspaper reporters, too, are afraid to publicize many things.

Because dangerous criminals are promptly granted bail under the present system, actual events remain suppressed. Whenever responsible government officials feel the heat of the press's criticism of lawlessness, they issue statements like this to cover up their own helplessness and incompetence: "Nowadays the law and order situation is deteriorating throughout the world." Such remarks go unchallenged. The point is that nowhere else in the world does anyone claim to enforce Islamic law, yet you never tire of repeating this claim. What good is your Islam?

Another important and responsible official of the government stated that "by the grace of God, Pakistan has now gotten rid of poverty" or that "nobody in the country is so poor as to sleep in the street. Therefore, poverty has

been eradicated from the country." Such statements merely illustrate the "foolish master and wicked servant" role of the rulers and officials. This is the case because on examining the truth, these statements prove to be masterpieces of official deception and dangerous white lies. Economic experts state that if during the last 12 years income has increased 100 percent, prices have gone up 400 percent. And because of unrestrained inflation, the balance between income and expenditure is being upset to a dangerous degree. And so far, the government has developed no viable plan to end this imbalance between prices and income.

From this it can be understood that in the near future and beyond there is every chance that the imbalance between income and expenditures will get worse. One can easily guess whether under these conditions poverty will be eradicated or whether it will steadily get more acute. The increasing population and rising prices have aggravated poverty to such an extent that in order to feed themselves and their families, many people are compelled to trade on the honor of their wives and daughters. The terrible rise in prices leads to widespread economic evils and life becomes unbearable.

Law enforcement agencies have become completely ineffective, and this is driving the economy toward destruction. Under such conditions, irresponsible remarks provide solid evidence of the dishonesty of the bureaucracy and merely help to keep the rulers in the dark about the realities of the situation.

Statements like this amount to cutting the throats of the masses and sprinkling salt on the wounds. This also proves that conspiratorial elements and their agents have fully succeeded in identifying those rulers and officials who are prone to the "foolish master and wicked servant" complex.

That is why it becomes the duty of the government to take all possible steps to safeguard the nation's future. It should bring about revolutionary changes in accordance with Islamic law in the working of the government and thus save country from its destructive course. To achieve this, it will have to reform the administrative machinery. Only then can any improvements be made in the field of law.

12286

CSO: 4656/258

FORMER JUDGE'S PRO-INDIRA GANDHI REMARKS REPORTED

Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 21 Sep 83 p 10

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Sept. 20: The daily 'Hindustan Times' has reported that former Supreme Court Judge of Pakistan Ghulam Safdar Shah, presently residing in London, has described the recent statements by Indian leaders on situation in Pakistan as India's natural concern.

According to the report, Mr. Safdar Shah told the paper's London correspondent that in his view the Indian statements could not be called interference in Pakistan's internal affairs.

The report added Safdar Shah is presently working on a book in which, opposing the two nations theory, he has criticised the partition of the sub-continent.

Meanwhile, the Indian weekly 'Organiser' has said there were reports of large-scale dumping of Indian money and arms in Sind.

In a write up entitled 'Mrs. Gandhi's bid to topple Gen. Zia', the paper said Mrs. Gandhi's concern for the people of Pakistan was either yet another pre-poll ploy, a diversionary tactic to overshadow domestic problems or it was an inkling of a well-coordinated plan to harm Pakistan.

The weekly said had it been a mere matter of protest over the arrest of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan or moral support to the agitators, Mrs. Gandhi

would not have triplicated the exercise.

The write-up added: "The contempt with which Pakistan's 'no war' offer was treated in the beginning — and is still being treated — has been a point to India's uncompromising hostility" to the present Government in Pakistan.— APP.

CSO: 4600/24



# PAKISTAN OFFERS FARM EXPERTISE TO SOMALIA

Karachi DAWN in English 18 Sep 83 p 9

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, Sept 17: Avenues of closer cooperation between Pakistan and Somalia in various fields of agriculture were discussed at a meeting held here today with the visiting Somalian Minister for Agriculture, Brig-Gen Bile Rafle Guled, and members of his delegation.

The Pakistan side was led by Vice-Admiral Mohammad Fazil Janjua, the Federal Minister for Food and Agriculture.

Vice-Admiral Mohammad Fazil Janjua agreed in principle to provide Somalia the necessary expertise and technical assistance in the field of irrigation, water resources, farm mechanisation, seeds and manpower training to boost agricultural productivity in Somalia.

The Minister also expressed his willingness to send two-member team of Pakistani engineers to Somalia to assess their requirements on farm mechanisation and provide a list of machinery which Pakistan could supply to Somalia for boosting agricultural activities.

He also assured the delegation that Pakistan would be happy to provide Somalia the services of Pakistani technicians and engineers for working in Somalian agricultural projects for certain period.

Welcoming the delegation, the Minister observed that Pakistan

would be happy to share its experiences and expertise with Somalia for fostering closer cooperation between the two Islamic countries and for bringing greater unity in the Islamic world.

The Somalian Minister for Agriculture said: "Somalia looks forward for friendly and closer cooperation with Pakistan in various fields as Pakistan has achieved great successes in technology, and being a Muslim country it is regarded as a sister country in the Islamic world."

Earlier, Dr. Masooda Akhtar, economic consultant of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture, briefed the visitors about Pakistan's achievement in the field of agriculture during the last few years.

The delegation was also briefed about research activities on agriculture by Dr. Amir Mohammad Khan, Chairman, Pakistan Agricultural Research Council.

Later the delegation also attended a briefing about Heavy Mechanical Complex in which the Managing Director, Mr. Zaheer Khan, informed the visitors of the detailed activities of the Complex with particular reference to manufacture of mini-sugar plant.

The delegates visited Pakistan Agricultural Research Centre in the afternoon.—APP

CSO: 4600/24

# MAJORITY SAID OPPOSED TO MRD MOVEMENT

Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 21 Sep 83 p 4

[Article by Maqbul Shariff]

[Text] From the list of issues that we struck, the next question is whether certain motives, apart from political, were responsible for the unrest in evidence as a result of the MRD agitation. But a quick look at the so-called agitation would only help to grasp the situation before discussing the remaining issues.

Anything unusual any thing which disturbs the status quo, anything abnormal is news, says the text book adding by way of illustration that if a dog bites a man it is no news but if a man bites a dog it is a news. Judging by this test the court ing of arrest by the people is certainly news and it is published, transmitted, broadcast and telecast. From the very beginning the coverage of the MRD activities particularly in the Western and Indian media has been long and extensive. The result has been that a look at the newspapers of these countries and the broadcasts and telecasts dol ed out by them give the impression that almost the entire nation had decided on a path of civil disobedience, all and sundry had joined the mad pursuit, the Government had lost the confidence of a majority of the people and it was on its last legs.

## Little impact

But what of those who think otherwise? Since they are not doing anything which is abnormal, unusual, out of the ordinary they do not make news and consequently are not reflected in the media. The fact of the matter is that to the nation or the majority of the people the so-called agitation has had little impact. It is true that in certain pockets in the interior of Sind a law and order problem had been created but in the cities even in Sind life goes on as normal with an added ingredient namely the fervour and enthusiasm evidenced by the interest in the elections to the local bodies. As a matter of fact the number of people who have offered themselves as candidates in these elections is far more than those who took part in these polls five years ago. This in itself is a manifestation of the acceptance by the nation of the programme for ushering in democratic institutions given by Gen. Zia-ul-Haq.

But the point I was making was that a silent massive majority disapproves and rejects the agitation and the methods adopted by the MRD. The parties outside the fold of the MRD are anxious to demonstrate to the people and to the world at large the strength they muster and the unequal-vocal manner in which they reject and condemn the MRD

and the terrorist activities they indulge in. But they are in a quandary because of the policies adopted by the Government. Under the directions laws and regulations political activity is banned and no political meetings can be organised; no rallies can be taken out, no mass congregations held. Those who are violating the law get the limelight. Those who do not agree with them are unable to exhibit and demonstrate their strength and point of view because of the law. They are law-abiding and wish to expose the machinations of those who violate the law. But it is the law which hampers them to do so. In their zeal to make their point of view known they have also to break the law, to take to the street. That would be free for all. This, they are not well disposed to do in national interest.

## Courting arrest

The other day I decided to personally witness the process of courting arrest. In all fairness I must pen it down. The time was 7 pm. The venue The Mall or the Shahrah-e-Quaid-i-Azam, a busy road with cars and rickshaws speeding up and down the thoroughfare. In one corner stood a few policemen with a van, a few photographers, a few spectators a few newsmen. I stood on the balcony

of a nearby shop. Apart from this life kept its normal pace. Some people were busy shopping, some others gossiping in a nearby restaurant. The flower seller, as usual sat in front of the Regal Cinema with baskets full of the latest bouquets proudly exhibiting the choicest to the public. In the same lane were being sold cassettes of hit songs and ghazals and a few passersby were purchasing 'pan' with their own choice of ingredients that should be contained in the betel. Nearby the man proud of his moustaches was arguing with potential customers on the price of a car. He sat in front of his store which houses new and second-hand cars. He is known to be an encyclopaedia on cars and their prices in Lahore. But the haggling that takes place with a hundred rupee note passing from the hand of the buyer to him and backwards when the price was not acceptable is a routine affair. He was at it. Not far off on the intersection between The Mall and the Temple Road the Dehi Bhalla shops were doing business in full swing. Scores of people were purchasing the spicy eatables, some consuming them on the roadside others getting it packed in polythene bags to share it with the family. Those who relished sweet things in comparison to spicy stuff were making purchases of 'Barfi' and the rest of it.

I stood at the balcony watching the scenario with great interest. All of a sudden a man appeared almost from nowhere shouting slogans. He looked ill-clad, ill fed and illiterate.

No sooner had he raised his hand and uttered a slogan when he was dumped into the van, the cameras flashed, the newsmen took out their note books and before you winked your eye he had been whisked away. The process did not take more than a minute or perhaps two. Some laughed others were amused, a few who were just onlookers waiting for the volunteer started moving. The cars were speeding, the rickshaws piled leaving lot of smoke, the flower seller, the panwala, the car dealer the people in the restaur-

ant, the lovers of Dehi Bhalla continued with their activities. The event did not even evoke an interest in them. One said it was madness, the other called it senseless. The third just smiled and the fourth laughed it off. And that was the spectacle of a person courting arrest.

Reports from all other cities depict a similar picture.

## Foreign media's role

But the bulletin on the BBC, the headlines in the London Press, the columns in the newspapers in the West would have us believe that the entire nation was on the march against what is termed as "an autocratic regime." Perhaps it was this atmosphere created abroad that some of those who had taken refuge in foreign countries to evade accountability at home were in a hurry to catch the next plane to Pakistan for the media would have them believe that the Government was on its last legs and surely they wanted to participate and join the next set-up. However, from the Heathrow Airport, London to Karachi or Islamabad in a few hours things had changed. They came here to find entirely a different atmosphere. This is what the media can do.

An interesting question-answer session was arranged by the Lahore Press Club the other day with the Jamaat-e-Islami, chief, Mian Tufail Mohammad. The replies that he gave to the queries of anxious newsmen were indeed informative. He had a three point case to put forward. It was as follows:-

1. The only potent faction in the MRD was the Peoples Party. The others who had decided to join hands with the PPP were either ignorant of power politics in Pakistan or had no clue to what the future held for them. Supposing, he said, the MRD was to form a Government at a distant future. Unmistakably the Government would be headed by the PPP and the other constituents of the MRD would conveniently be lodged once

again in the Dallai camp. There would be no Gen. Zia-ul-Haq to get them released from the ignominious prison.

2. The Jamaat-e-Islami had formulated its reaction to the constitutional framework announced by President Zia-ul-Haq. One part comprised the acceptance of some provisions of the framework. The Jamaat wanted a clarification of some of the provisions, which was the second part of the memorandum of the party. Lastly the third part consisted of those provisions which it was not possible for the party to accept. The President he revealed had been informed of the reaction of the party. In turn they now awaited the response of the President. That, the Amir of the Jamaat said, was as it should be. Each party had to review the document from its own point of view and give its considered opinion to the Government for final decision. This had been the practice in the sub-continent evident from a perusal of history—the All India Congress, the Muslim League and the other parties negotiating with the Government. But the attitude of the MRD was incomprehensible since it could be anything but politics.

3. The Jamaat had considerable strength and was not only keen but was anxious to give a befitting reply to the MRD. They wished to demonstrate to the people and the world the hollow stand of this band of politicians. But how? If they were to apply to the Government for holding a public meeting at the Mochi Gate and for bringing out a procession on The Mall the Government would unmistakably turn down the request since it would have to give a similar permission to other parties. What do the parties disagreeing with the MRD do in such a situation? he asked in utter desperation.

Mian Tufail lamented that on the one hand the Government wanted that the Qibla of the nation should be corrected and on the other it adopted the role of an impartial, objective and a fair referee. The two positions were a contradiction in terms. Undoubtedly Mian Sahib had a point

## BBC'S POLICIES, ACTIONS RESENTED

Karachi DAWN in English 18 Sep 83 p 14

[Text]

LAHORE, Sept. 17: People belonging to all shades of public opinion have expressed deep resentment at the continued tendentious coverage of events in Pakistan by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC).

A large number of religious, socio-political and cultural organisations, besides the student circles throughout the Punjab said that BBC, which had recently been taken over by a Zionist Chairman, had now completely given up objectivity, as far as Pakistan was concerned. They said that over the years the BBC had earned a fair amount of notoriety for continuously opposing the newly emerging nations of the Third World, but its performance vis-a-vis recent events in Pakistan had surpassed all its previous records of concoctions.

A large number of statements sent to APP's district correspondents said the people still remembered the depressing news of the fall of Lahore during the 1965 War. This news was deliberately given at a time when the valiant Armed Forces of Pakistan had actually overthrown the sneakish attempt on Pakistan's integrity.

**Separate cell**

The statements said that BBC broadcast regarding the events and

personalities in the Third World in general and Pakistan in particular, had never highlighted the positive sides. It would not be wrong to surmise that this Jewish organisation had established a separate cell to invent and concoct news and is putting on air heresy accounts without any verification.

The statements said that the Irish thorn in the British flesh could not be that painless that BBC should ignore it altogether, as it was conveniently ignoring subjects like soaring prices and run-away unemployment, as also attacks on the coloured in England.

The statements said it was unfortunate that a large number of people, employed by this British organisation in Pakistan, were now selling their own country only for the sake of fat salaries they had been offered. They were not lagging behind their masters in the fine art of concoctions because they had to justify their existence. The opposition leaders in Pakistan had only to telephone these B.B.C. stringers of their views propagated by the BBC.

The statements demanded a check on the activities of all those accredited to the BBC in Pakistan, so that the fair image of the country was not tarnished by these few selfish persons.—APP

# FALSE PROMISES, POOR PERFORMANCE IN MINERALS NOTED

Karachi DAWN in English 18 Sep 83 BUSINESS SUPPLEMENT p I, IV

[Article by Mohsin Ali]

[Text]

**THE WAY** we have been "discovering" for a pretty long time minerals — and even precious metals like gold and silver — we should be sitting on top of the Third World.

But we are not. The reason is: the find of minerals is one thing and their commercial exploitation quite another.

The refrain on all textbooks on the geography and geology of the country generally is: "Mineral-rich Pakistan has a wide variety of natural deposits". Economic literature even lists a number of minerals as having been "already identified" and others as having "a potential for commercial and economic exploitation in the short and medium term initially for domestic use".

But the long, winding oath from "identification" and "potential" for exploitation to actual processing is littered with booby traps.

We do not have enough risk capital in the public sector for the huge task, in the first place. Then, private local capital has never gone in for mining or exploration except in the case of the take-over of the Quetta coalmines from the departing migrants at the time of independence.

Further, sufficient foreign capital is not available for the exploitation of the minerals found, because of lack of information, inadequate institutional framework and other factors, both economic and political.

## Inhibiting factors

Other causes that stymie efforts at exploitation include inadequate geological mapping, lack of skilled manpower and absence of industrial capacity to process the discoveries.

Then, shifting national economic priorities and international investment climate also act as powerful inhibiting factors.

A period of oil glut for instance, or falling prices of metals such as copper right now, do not spur risky exploration ventures, just as shortages or high prices do.

Another factor, not usually envisaged is that the promise of the potential is belied by performance.

Some such factors or a combination of them appear to have played key roles in the "discoveries" and the subsequent fate of the minerals listed.

Or maybe, as some suggest the media reports were based on briefings by earnest young men, with more enthusiasm than expertise.

## Gold, silver

**Gold:** On May 19, 1975, it was reported that the "Pakistan Mineral Development Corporation has started work on a gold mining project in Gilgit and Hunza areas at a cost of Rs 2.29 million.

"It has engaged Messrs Astrol Minerals of Austria as consultants to determine the gold reserves and set up a pilot plant at the site. Experts said the project will be economically feasible if the sand

could produce 0.3 grams of gold per ton of gravel".

Nothing has been heard of the project since. Perhaps, the gold-diggers are still at it!

**Silver:** On November 8, 1961, under a Quetta dateline a report said: "Pakistan's first silver mine, believed to be the richest one in Asia, has been found in prejurassic rocks located at about 65 miles from Quetta, an authoritative source disclosed here today".

"The analysis of a sample called from the mine has indicated that the ore contains nine per cent silver, 33 per cent antimony and 13.13 per cent lead."

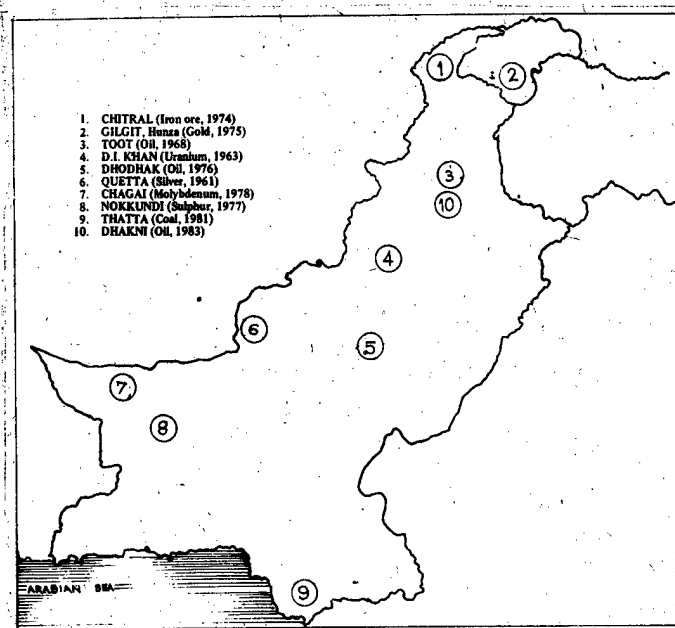
"The silver ore found in Quetta division could give 200 pounds of silver per ton, it was stated. Normally, 15 ounces of silver extracted from one ton of ore are considered economic.

"Part of the area discovered has been leased out by the government to a private concern which had started limited production of the ore, the authoritative source revealed".

It must have been a case of the traditional shyness of private enterprise. Or perhaps of bankruptcy for the "limited production" appeared to have hit a blind alley, 22 years later.

## Rare metals

**Uranium:** On January 11, 1963 it was reported that "some rich deposits of uranium have been discovered in the surroundings of Dera Ismail Khan.



"Highly reliable sources said the federal government was considering to further coordinate the exploration work of this mineral".

Incidentally, it may be added here that reports about the "discovery" and even the processing of uranium in the same area and also in the northern region have continued to surface with cyclic regularity for the last 20 years.

Obviously, the assumption should be that efforts to "co-ordinate exploration" is continuing with all possible speed.

**Molybdenum:** On August 2, 1978 Quetta reported that "large deposits of molybdenum (a silvery white metal) have been discovered at Darbanchah in the district of Chaghai in Baluchistan". Quoting an official source, the report explained that "molybdenum is a very costly mineral rarely found in the world."

"Presently, it is being mined only in the US, Canada and Mexico. Its market price today is about 18,000 dollars per ton as against the copper price of 15,000 dollars a ton", said the report.

### First in Asia?

The source, according to the news-item went on: "This is the first rich molybdenum discovery in Asia and will fetch handsome amount of foreign exchange to the country".

That was 1978. Today (1983) the molybdenum which is said to be "an alloy for the manufacture of steel", continues to remain where it was stated to have been found.

**Sulphur:** On May 8, 1977, it was reported again from Quetta that "about 70 million tons of sulphur deposits have been discovered in the Nokkundi area of Baluchistan".

The report added: "The Pakistan Mineral Development Corporation and the Baluchistan Development Authority have prepared a joint project for economic and proper use of sulphur deposits. Under this project, the production of sulphur ore will be raised to 7,000 tons during the current (1976-77) year. In the next few years, it will be increased to 21,000 tons annually".

The latest (1982-83) issue of the "Pakistan Economic Survey", however, puts the figure at only "0.8 million tonnes". It adds a rider: "Mineral-rich Pakistan has a wide variety of natural deposits. Table One below gives the position of mineral reserves based on latest estimates".

And the table gives the "estimated reserves of sulphur as "0.8 million tonnes". (It may be explained here that a Long Ton equals 2240 pounds; a Short Ton 2000 pounds and a Tonne is a metric ton which equals 2204.5 pounds or 1,000 kilogrammes).

**Iron ore:** On October 12, 1974 a Peshawar report had it that "sub-

stantial deposits of iron ore have been discovered in northern Chitral, the Geological Survey of Pakistan announced here today".

"The deposits of magnetite quality of ore which has the richest substance of iron, extend for miles". These deposits are estimated at hundreds of millions of tons," the announcement said.

### High grade iron ore

That was 1974. A more sensational announcement came on April 26, 1978. It said: "Huge deposits of high grade magnetite iron ore has been discovered in the Kohistan region about 100 miles from Abbottabad in the North-West Frontier Province".

"Disclosing this the managing director of Mining and Industrial Consultants told a news conference in Karachi that the proved reserves have been worked out to be 32 million tons".

Determined to be remembered by history not only as the discoverer of the Kohistan ore but also as the solver of Pakistan Steel Mill's raw material supply problem, he maintained that the "iron content of the Kohistan ore is over 86 per cent whereas the iron content of the Australian ore to be imported for the Pakistan Steel Mill is less than 80 per cent".

Further, "the cost of transporting the iron ore from the mine site

in Kohistan to Pakistan Steel Mills in Karachi would be about Rs 200 per ton which is equal to the cost of transporting Australian ore to Karachi by sea," he said.

According to him, the C&F Karachi price of Australian ore is Rs 1,600 per ton "which is high and also involves a huge expenditure of foreign exchange".

"The Kohistan reserves of 32 million tons would meet the requirements of Pakistan Steel Mills for the next 16 to 18 years at least", he added.

But the Pakistan Steel Mill is importing its iron ore requirements from India, Australia, etc. Moreover, iron ore, as far as is known, is not being mined anywhere in Pakistan. In fact, the Pakistan Economic Survey only gives "the latest estimates" of "over 430 million tonnes of iron ore" as reserves believed to be underground in "mineral-rich Pakistan".

### Coal in Thatta

**Coal:** On October 12, 1981, Radio Pakistan announced that the Geological Survey of Pakistan has discovered "a new coal field in the Thatta district of Sind spread over 300 square miles along both banks of the Indus".

The radio report said that "500 million to 1,000 million tons of superior quality coal reserves are said to be in the uncapped coal field called the Thatta-Sadha coalfields".

"The exploitation of the field and its evaluation would be completed

within the next two years after which the field would be handed over to the Sind Government for issuing mining lease".

One assumes that the "evaluation of the field" is not yet complete though we are in the later half of 1983.

The chapter on "Mining" in the Pakistan Economic Survey tells a different story. Says the Survey: "The production of coal declined by 4.5 per cent, to 1,117 thousand tons during July-March 1982-83 from 1,174 thousand during the same period last year. The decline was largely due to deeper mining, exhaustion of developed reserves, shortage of railway wagons, restricted utilisation of coal and acute slump in the market".

**Oil:** The most dramatic official announcement was on December 21, 1976 about the discovery of oil and gas in "considerable quantities" at Dhodak in Dera Ghazi Khan.

The announcement said: "The oil reserves, according to preliminary estimates, are 200 million barrels. The gas reserves are believed to be half that of Sui. The oil is of very fine quality and will need very little refining".

The announcement went on: "The discovery by the OGDC, in an entirely indigenous effort, was made on December 10 — the first such discovery since 1968 when oil was struck at Tut".

Today seven years later, all that we know about Dhodak is an entry in the chapter on "Energy" of the

Pakistan Economic Survey: "Dhodak well No. 4 was also completed and by the end of March, 1983 testing operations were in progress".

**Dakhni:** In more or less the same category was another announcement, pitched, fortunately, in low key, last August 20, about the "discovery of a new oilfield at Dakhni in Attock district".

Again, the announcement, without even referring to official records, went on: "This is the second oilfield discovered by OGDC — the first at Tut was made 15 years ago in February, 1968".

"OGDC experts believe that oil would be in "commercial quantities" at Dakhni and they plan to drill at least 10 more wells there."

However, there was a catch in the report. As the official announcement itself candidly explained: "Drilling at Dakhni oilfield was stopped because of hydrogen sulphate contents in the oil. This is an extremely poisonous gas which could kill. It would now be separated through equipment to be imported soon".

Technical experts, wishing all success to the OGDC, explained that the process envisaged is "costly, intricate and time-consuming".

With a touch of poetry in his soul, one expert even cautioned this reporter to remember the story of Radha's unperformed dance ... pending the arrival of nine maunds of oil ...

## SIND DISTURBANCES ANALYZED

Karachi DAWN in English 17 Sep 83 p 17

[Article by Brig (Retd) A. R. Siddiqi]

[Text] A MONTH of sporadic rioting in the Sind interior may not necessarily be an indicator or precursor of a national crisis. By and large, ours is a period of rapid change and all the destabilisation and turbulence that goes with it. Just the same, the turbulent condition in the interior of Sind, no matter on how miniscule a scale cannot be dismissed lightly.

A disturbed situation exists and should be thoroughly considered for the sheer length of time it has managed to be there, if not for its national-wide sweep and intensity. Rather than wait for the situation to deteriorate and more on from a "handful" of people to the broad masses, it needs to be controlled now thoughtfully by means of a judicious admixture of political and administrative means.

Predominantly administrative measures adopted for solving problems involving masses, even if apolitical, are hardly ever adequate and of an enduring value. These might, and do, indeed produce a temporary surface calm but invariably widen the rifts and leave the root cause of the problem untouched. The worst part of using purely administrative measures in a turbulent situation is the application of force that goes with it and without which such measures remain largely ineffective.

### Two features

Perhaps, the two most disturbing features of the Sind situation are first, its predominantly provincial or local character and, secondly, the fact that its centre of gravity remains confined to the countryside.

Traditionally Sindhis are a peace-loving and amiable people. This is particularly true of the Sindhi countryside not given to explosive political activism. This should put us to some hard thinking, therefore, to find out as to why a people so peaceful and humane be suddenly possessed with an indomitably destructive impulse to assault police stations, court premises, railway trains and road convoys. Besides being common public property, these things are also symbols of government authority. Burning and destroying, therefore, is not just doing violence to property but also to the symbols of State authority.

The fountainhead of all such movements (or eruptions) regardless of their magnitude, is generally the loss of a sense of participation among the people, more particularly among the activists themselves, in their own affairs. Even when divorced from reality in hard statistical terms, the sense of loss is there and may get stronger and stronger until timely remedial action is taken by appropriate authorities. In this sort of business time is of the most crucial importance and the time-honoured saying

a stitch in time, saves nine could hardly be more aptly or relevantly involved than in the present case.

### Mixed population

Now an analysis of the situation in the light of the historical experience. Turbulence originating in the interior, though initially sporadic and incoherent, could subsequently spread out and endure much longer than spectacular labour or student strike in big cities even with the advantage of instantly coming with the limelight through the mass media also concentrated there. The latter, however, may prove to be just a flash in the pan.

On the contrary, rural agitation, if sustained over a period of time could carry away the broad masses, the bulk of whom, in any case, resides in the villages, and by force or persuasion, involve more and more of them in it, physically. In the close intimate rural setting, dominated by small communities (br adries) the herd instinct is unavoidably stronger than in the less intimate surroundings of the city. Everybody jumps to the same bandwagon and a sort of mushroom growth follows.

Besides the bulk of the population concentrating in the countryside, all the vital rail/road communications run through there, all the crops are there and, in the case of Sind, one has also to reckon with the sensitive factor of the



Sindhi-non-Sindhi mixed population. Once general destabilisation occurs in the countryside communications and communal peace and harmony would suffer most.

And the most alarming part of a low-intensity, low-profile operation like this is that it could go on and on. Like a low-grade, persisting fever, it may debilitate considerably without, crippling. Furthermore, once a subversive development takes root in the villages, it's bound to suck in more and more of the law-enforcing agencies diverting them compulsorily from their main jobs mostly along the borders and in the major population centres.

In the vacuum thus created in the cities, disruptive forces find an opportunity to move in, escalating a law-and-order situation into one of a general unrest with all its unpredictable consequences. Mounting violence on the part of both the law-enforcing agencies and the trouble makers (miscreants) seriously compromises and cripples the normal

political processes and mediating agencies.

At this stage generally a free-for-all may start and the country, besides being torn by international strife, may also become exposed to external threats. There is no better target for an ambitious country than a neighbour internally divided even if militarily sound.

The localisation of the present agitational activity to Sind is at once its best and worst part. It is good because it has not affected the rest of the country as yet, and bad because it has, politically and psychologically, isolated Sind from the rest of the country. A situation like this could only tend to aggravate the Sindhi exclusive in the long run. Something too terrifying even to contemplate.

## Frustration

Stray cases of violence and defiance of State authority have not

mercifully reached crisis proportions as yet. It may only be the sort of catharsis following a somewhat prolonged period of gestation, non-participation and frustration. What is important is that the catharsis is not allowed to develop into a real crisis.

Terrorism has no parentage: it breeds like worms in a sanitary vacuum and, while trying to fill in it destroys all sanitation and sanity. It is essentially apolitical because it is generally out of step with mass awareness and understanding of an essentially political situation. Above all, the primary targets of its blind fury are the masses themselves.

It is therefore politically counterproductive in the ultimate analysis. However, in a certain mood of mass hysteria and mob fury, its aggressively romantic appeal may become too strong to resist.

We should all see to it that such a stage never arises in our country and the catharsis spends itself before growing into a real crisis.

## FLOGGING OF POLITICAL WORKERS CRITICIZED

Karachi DAWN in English 18 Sep 83 p 4

[Text]

TURBAT, Sept 17: The Central Committee of the Baluch Students Organisation (Awami) met here on Sept 10 under the chairmanship of Mr. Yaseen Baluch. All Councillors from Sind and Baluchistan participated.

Mr Yaseen Baluch sharply criticised flogging of political workers. He urged the Martial Law authorities to hold free elections and on party basis immediately.

He also praised the struggle of the people of Sind for democracy and fair elections.

The meeting also discussed constitutional and organisational mat-

ters. After 12 years of separate existence, the Baluch Students Organisation and the Baluch Students Organisation (Awami) ended their disputes and formed a united B.S.O.

Through various resolutions the meeting demanded end of restrictions on the Press, ban on lashing of the political workers, admissions for students from less developed areas in technical and professional universities and colleges.

The meeting fully supported the democratic struggle of the people of Pakistan in general and those of Sind in particular.

CSO: 4600/24

## REPORT SAYS BALANCE OF PAYMENTS POSITION DETERIORATES

Karachi DAWN in English 22 Sep 83 p 6

[Text] ISLAMABAD, Sept 21: The World Bank's annual report for the year 1983, has commended Pakistan's economic growth and observed that despite several adverse circumstances, specially the world recession, Pakistan's real GDP is projected to grow at about 6.2 per cent in fiscal 1983, equaling the previous year mark.

The report, however, points out that in contrast, both balance-of-payments and budgetary positions have deteriorated largely as a result of the slowdown in the world economy and falling commodity prices. Exports of rice and cotton have been sharply lower in the past two years mainly as a result of depressed international rice and cotton markets, it was stated.

But still Pakistan's balance-of-payments situation, as fiscal year 1983 drew to a close, remained manageable, the report stated adding, contributory factors were improvements in world trade and commodity prices late in the year, the favourable effect on Pakistani migrant remittances (from the Gulf and other countries) and a number of minor exports of adjustments in the value of the rupee and the continued flow of resources from the IMF's Extended Fund and Compensatory Financing facilities.

The World Bank report emphasised that despite the 17 per

cent increase in Pakistan's external indebtedness since 1978, debt-servicing is not yet a pressing problem for the country as it has been for some other developing countries. In fiscal 1982, Pakistan's public and publicly-held guaranteed external debt amounted to only 25 per cent of total GNP and debt service was only 13.6 per cent of the exports of goods and services, the report stated.

The report further stated that supported by an Extended Fund Facility arrangements and a structural-adjustments credit from the IDA, tighter demand-management and supply-side measures have been adopted to promote structural adjustments and to increase efficiency and production in those key-sectors that can contribute to improve balance-of-payments performance.

In agriculture sector, it was pointed out, produces' prices have been raised to bring them in line with international prices and subsidies on fertilisers and herbicides have been reduced while efforts have been made to increase the supply of inputs and availability of credit.

Increased investments have gone into rehabilitating irrigation system and improving water conservation and drainage facilities in water-logged areas and in order to

defray higher operational and maintenance costs, water charges have been raised.

### Export incentives

The World Bank report stated that in industry, steps have been taken to improve the climate for the private sector through constitutional guarantees against arbitrary nationalisation, tax and trade incentives and simplified investment-sanctioning procedures. Simultaneously, incentives for exports have been increased and a programme of phased import liberalisation had been initiated to reorient the trade regime towards exports.

The World Bank report has also taken notice of Pakistan's initiatives in the field of energy which includes strengthening of energy planning, encouragements of private sector participation in energy development and increase in consumer prices of oil and gas to encourage conservation.

What the World Bank seems to have completely ignored in its brief observations on Pakistan's economy, is the country's breakthrough in agriculture by attaining self-sufficiency in wheat and in fact attaining a modest export level in wheat and sugar, after rice.

CSO: 4600/25

# NEED FOR MORE UNIVERSITIES STRESSED

Karachi DAWN in English 21 Sep 83 p 1

[Text]

The Karachi University Teachers Society has strongly advocated the need for two new universities in Karachi to meet the growing demand for higher education.

Unless the new universities were set up immediately, problems would multiply and get worse and academic and educational progress would come to a standstill.

In a Press statement the President of KUTS, Syed Ali Azhar, expressed concern at the recent happenings at the campus including the locking up of the vice-Chancellor and his staff for several hours.

While "fully endorsing the present admission policy" the KUTS stressed that it was vital that academic peace was maintained at the campus at all costs.

The Press release said the present admission policy gave priority to Karachi students who obviously belonged to all provinces and regions of Pakistan; second priority to students from the other parts of

Sind province; and third priority to students belonging to the other regions for M. Phil and Ph. D. courses enrolment is on merit basis on all Pakistan basis, and there has been no change in the admission policy since it was laid down by the Academic Council three years ago, it stated.

The Press release said the teachers community obviously felt sorry for thousands of Karachi students who cannot be granted admission because of number of seats and felt that the only solution was to set up at least two new universities without loss of time.

It reminded that seats in Karachi University were never allocated on regional basis except a few for FATA which were filled from amongst the nominees of the Federal Government.

There were also no seats for Kashmiri students but the university had since referred the matter to the University Grants Commission, it added.

CSO: 4600/25

# TERMINATING JOURNALISTS' SERVICES CRITICIZED

Karachi DAWN in English 18 Sep 83 p 9

[Editorial: "An Unwarranted Action"]

[Text] THE services of three journalists working with "Mashriq", a National Press Trust newspaper in Lahore, have been terminated and six others who belong to the "Pakistan Times" and "Imroze", both NPT papers, are said to be likely to meet a similar fate. Their guilt is that they signed a joint statement by writers and intellectuals in support of the demand for the restoration of democracy. In the absence of any knowledge of the service conditions and contractual limitations in operation in the NPT, nothing much can be said about the legality of the decision. But the action seems harsh and hasty. It is wholly inconceivable that the concept of discipline and the restrictions that apply to Government servants should be extended to the journalists working on the newspapers under the control of NPT. It is patent that journalists can successfully meet the onerous demands of their profession only if they are allowed to work in an environment of freedom. It

may be said that the issue here was not simply one of freedom of conscience and that the signing of a public statement could be deemed to be a sort of political action, quite distinct from merely holding any private views. Now a stray case of political articulation should not be considered as being tantamount to involvement in political activities. Journalists are after all supposed to be deeply involved in public issues by the very nature of their profession. However, the bosses of the NPT, who are answerable to the officials of the Information Ministry, may take the stand that they are not in position to adopt such a libertarian approach and that they have to bear official sensitivities in mind. Even so they should use persuasion which works better than persecution. We feel that more tolerance was required because of the extenuating circumstance. We are passing at the moment through difficult times. During emergencies, concerned citizens are required to abandon their normal composure and address them-

selves, in their respective ways, to the emergency situation. It is clear that no wilful violation of discipline is involved since it has not been shown that the journalists concerned refused to accept and work the policies of their respective newspapers.

In the present case, the action of the so-called erring journalists may have been influenced by a generally shared feeling that an extraordinary situation of crisis proportions had arisen, and this warranted outspokenness in articulation. This is a legitimate concern and did not by any means constitute any deliberate breach of discipline of the NPT. In the given circumstances, it would be advisable for the NPT not to overreact but to take a lenient view of the action of the staffers concerned. We strongly urge the NPT authorities to revise their decision. If this decision goes unchallenged, what began with the rolling of three heads might escalate into some kind of a witch-hunt prompted by wholly unworthy political biases.

CSO: 4600/24

BRIEFS

ASGHAR KHAN'S BOOK BANNED--The Government of Sind has banned the book titled "Generals in Politics" written by the defunct Tehrik-i-Istiqlal Chief, Air Marshal (rtd.) Asghar Khan and has ordered its forfeiture. The action has been taken by the Home Department under the Press and Publications Ordinance, 1963. All copies of the book have been ordered to be forfeited to the Government with immediate effect.--PPI [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 21 Sep 83 p 10]

SINDHI DAILIES UNDER PRECENSORSHIP--Pre-censorship was imposed on two Sindhi language daily newspapers of Hyderabad, IBRAT and MEHRAN, on Tuesday. Earlier, government advertisements to these newspapers were stopped. Meanwhile, Mr Minhaj Barna, Chairman of the All Pakistan Newspaper Employees Confederation (Burna group) criticised this measure and termed it another attack on the freedom of the Press. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 21 Sep 83 p 10]

JOURNALISTS SERVED NOTICES--Lahore, Sept 21: Seven senior journalists, belonging to dailies IMROZE and the PAKISTAN TIMES, published by Progressive Papers Limited, an NPT affiliate, have been served with show-cause notices with regard to their signing of a statement along with other writers and journalists etc that appeared sometime ago, by their respective Chief Editors. Those who have been issued identical show-cause notices by the Chief Editor, IMROZE are: Messrs Masood Ashar, Deputy Editor; Shafqat Tanvir Mirza, Assistant Editor; Badrul Islam Butt, Senior Staff Reporter; Azhar Javed, in-charge Magazine Section; and Mrs Rakhshanda Hasan, Senior Sub-Editor. Similarly Messrs: I. H. Rashid, Chief Reporter; and Mr Riaz Malik, Senior Sub-Editor/Shift Incharge; have been issued show-cause notices by the Chief Editor PAKISTAN TIMES.--PPI [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 22 Sep 83 p 6]

COMMITTEE OF SCIENTISTS NOMINATED--Lahore, Sept 22: The Government of Pakistan has nominated a four-member committee of scientists and technologists to chalk out a comprehensive programme for the development of manpower in science and technology in the Islamic World. The body will also prepare a 20-year programme, defining the main targets and priorities, to be executed through a series of five-year action programmes. The committee will submit its report to the Presidential Adviser on Science and Technology, Dr M. A. Kazi.--PPI. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 23 Sep 83 p 14]

NEW DIVISIONS FOR SIND--Karachi, 15 Sep--It has been learned through reliable sources that work has already begun to create two new divisions and 4 new districts in Sind. These steps are being taken for the purpose of strengthening the administration of the province. According to the daily STAR, one of the major reasons underlying Sind government's inability to control the MRD movement was that certain districts and divisions of the province are too spread out. A decision has therefore been made to split the two divisions of Hyderabad and Sukkur into four. [Text] [Karachi AMN in Urdu 16 Sep 83 p 6]

KARACHI NOT TO BECOME PROVINCE--Karachi, 15 Sep--Official sources here have strongly denied the recent rumors that Karachi was being turned into a province extending from Lasbela on one side to Kotri on the other. One high government official has called such talk entirely foolish. According to STAR, official sources have stated that such irresponsible remarks can further instigate the Sindhi public. [Text] [Karachi AMN in Urdu 16 Sep 83 p 6]

BENAZIR'S EMPLOYEES ARRESTED--Karachi, 30 Sep--Two employees of PPP leader Benazir Bhutto were arrested in Rato Dero yesterday. According to Bhutto family sources, the police made the arrests after raiding the houses of both employees, whose names have been given as Mohammad Ali Nawaz and Munshi Sabar. [Text] [Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 1 Oct 83 p 1]

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